MURTAZA MUTAHHARY

ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY

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In the Name of Allah
The Merciful The Compassionate

A word about the book and its author.

Whereas Islam forbids oppression and declares it a sin, it also declares submission to oppression as forbidden and sinful. It has exhorted the people not to submit to oppression but to struggle for its eradication. Naturally we find that the struggle of the Muslims and Islamic movements have adorned the pages of Islamic History in all ages.

The Maktab-e-Qur'an is presently engaged in preparing a book on the subject in English language which, it is hoped, will soon be in the hands of the esteemed readers. But since the present book contains some useful material on the subject, we have been prompted to translate it into English and have added a few lines to the original text.

The original book under the heading "Nehzathaye Islami dar sad salah-e akheer" (Islamic movements during the last one hundred years) has been written in Persian by a renowned scholar Mr. Murtaza Mutahhari. The writers of his calibre are to be rarely found especially in the branch of Islamic sciences in which field he has a number of scholarly works to his credit. Among the Persian reading public, the number of persons to whom this writer is unknown, will be so small as to be counted on finger tips. In order to make an estimation of his scholarship, we would like the reader to go through

any one of his writings mentioned below :

1. Usool-e Falsafa wa Ravesh-e Re'alism.
2. Adl-e Elahi.
3. Mas'ala-e-Hejab.
4. Nezam-e Huqooq-e zan dar Islam.
5. Jazeba wa Dafe'a-e-Ali.
6. Sairi dar Nahj-ul Balagha.
7. Khadamat-e Muteqabel-e-Islam wa Iran.
8. Beest Gufftar.
9. Dastan-e Rastan.
10. Ensan wa Sarnawesht.
11. Elal-e Gerayesh be Maddigari.
12. Emdad haye Ghaybl.
13. Khatm-e Nobowwat.
14. Qeyam wa Enqelab-e Mahdi.
15. Wela'ha wa welayatha.
16. Peyambar-e-Ummi.

Since the author wrote his book at a time when ignoble regime of the monarch in Iran had not as yet collapsed and there was no freedom to speak and write the truth, it is understandable that the esteemed writer could not have dealt with certain matters in very clear terms. But with God's grace these obscurities will be made clear in the next edition.

MAKTAB-E-QUR'AN

'REFORM'

Reform means giving order to things as opposed to disorder or creation of chaos. Reform and corruption form a pair of antonyms in Kor'anic literature and have occurred repeatedly in the scripture. The pairs of antonyms are ideological and social terms which, when placed side by side, help in understanding their meaning more clearly. For example, we have antonyms like 'unity' and 'plurality', 'belief' and 'unbelief', 'guidance and misguidances justice' and 'oppression' 'good' and 'evil', 'obedience and 'detraction', 'thankfulness' and 'thanklessness', 'unity' and 'disunity', 'absence' and 'presence', knowledge' and 'ignorance', 'asceticism' and 'indulgence' 'pride' and 'lowliness' etc.

Some of the contrasting terms are placed side by side to negativate the meaning of each other thus distributing them into positives and negatives. Reform and corruption are of the same nature. The context in which the term reform is used in the Kor'an sometimes is the relationship between two persons.

At other times, it is used in the context of family environment and also the wider social environment which is presently under our consideration. We find that the term

is used in a large number of Kor'anic verses. Hence whenever the term 'reform' is used in this essay, its implication is in the context of social strata. In simpler terms it means that we shall refer to social reform.

The Kor'an speaks of the prophets as the reformers. For instance prophet 'Shoeb' says, "My object is nothing but reform to the last limit of my capability. My success is nowhere except in the hands of God. On His holy self do I depend and to him alone I approach."

At the same time, the Kor'an repudiates with full vehemence the claims of demagogic reformers. It says," If they (the demagogues) are told not to bring corruption on earth they say that they are bringing nothing but reforms. Be you informed that they are the creators of corruption and themselves do not have the full realization."

Seeking the reforms is the very spirit of Islam. A Muslim is a reformist and at least a protagonist of reformation for the bare fact that he is a 'Musalman'. Reform seeking has come down in the Kor'an as an attribute of prophethood. It occupies the same significance in Islamic social teachings as the things 'lawful' and 'unlawful'. But of course, all that falls within the ambit of 'permitted' and 'forbidden' cannot necessarily embody what is called a social reform. Thus we find that a duty-bound Muslim, conscious of doing what is forbidden, is very sensitive towards social reform.

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1. Sura Baqr/11 and 220. Aeaaf / 56, 85, 170. Hud 88, 111, Ghias / 19.

It is appreciative that in our age we find a positive as well as propitious sensitivity towards social reformation developing among the people. But of course this trend seems to be overdrawn in the sense that all the service rendered other than towards social reformation is undervalued. Every service is being evaluated in terms of social reform and the importance of a person has come to be recognised only by the measure of his involvement in social reforms. This line of thinking does not seem to be fair. Social reform in a society is no doubt a service, but every service is not necessarily a social reform. A doctor who attends upon the patients from dawn to dusk renders a social service but he does not reform the society.

Social reform or directing the society towards a definite end is not what a physician is required to do. On this count, therefore, the value of persons rendering great social service cannot be ignored for the reason that they had no role in the social reforms. The work done by Shiekh Morteza Ansaaree or Sadr-ul-Moteallеheen is a service and no doubt a great service. But nevertheless what they did cannot be called a reform nor can they be called reformers. Or for instance the commentary entitled "Majma-ul-Bayaan" written about nine centuries ago and constantly made use of by hundreds of thousands of people is a service but cannot be counted a social reform. It is a work undertaken and completed by a scholar in seclusion.

There can be several instances of persons having rendered greatest of service through their personal piety and exemplary life but without having even remotely involved themselves in social activities. Therefore the pious, like the

reformers, are also valuable to the society having served it though of course without being considered as reformers.

"Oh God ! You know what has occurred from our side. It was not to vie in securing power or to indulge in self-seeking. But it was to re-introduce your conventions which are the landmarks on the road leading to you; it was to bring about radical and conspicuous reforms in your cities so that the oppressed and the exposed humanity is made secure and that your unheeded commands are reinvigorated."

These lines have been drawn from 'Nehej-ul Balageh'. Here Ali defines his role as a 'reformer' from the point of view of social activities.

During the times of Moawiyyeh, a large gathering of the leading personalities having met during the Hajj (pilgrimage) days, was addressed by Imam Husain. In the course of his address, he repeated the above words of his father; viz. his role as a reformer in the proposed task.[1]

Imam Husain has again referred to his mission as reformation' in his famous will while addressing it to his brother, Mohammad ibn Hanifa. He wrote :

My revolt is not the revolt of a self-seeking disruptive, ambitious oppressor. In the task of reformation of the community of my grandfather, I have taken the initiative. My intention is to propagate the permitted and the forbidden. My aim is to proceed after the character of my father and my grand father.

1. *The address is recorded in "Tohaf-ul Oghool".*

Reformation Movements in Islamic History

The lives of the holy Imams is replete with the story of teachings, guidance and social reformation. Apart from that we come across innumerable reformative movements during the course of the history of Islam. But for the reason that a detailed study of these movements has not, hitherto, been conducted, one is led to believe that the history of Islam has been almost stagnant even retarding as far as reformation-seeking movements are concerned.

For about a thousand years in the past, a thinking has crept into the minds of the Muslims (first among the Sunnis and then among the Shias), that at the beginning of each century a reformer and a renewer of the religion would appear. The Sunnis mention of a tradition handed down to them by Abu Hareereh : "The God sends at the end of every century, a man to his community to renew His religion and reorganise it."

Whereas this tradition falls short of a strong proof and historical evidence, but general acceptance of the belief by the Muslims speaks of their expectation of the appearance of a reformer or reformers at the turn of each century. In practice, some have ventured to consider movements as nothing but reformation movements.

It is, therefore, that reform, reformer, reformation movement and the recently coined phrase 'reconstruction of religious thought' are the sounds with which the ears of the Muslims are already familiar.

A careful study of reformation movements in Islamic

history and their scientific analysis is useful and invigorating. I hope worthy people will make that achievement and place the results of their study and investigation in the hands of the interested people.

It is but obvious that all the movements with an objective of reformation cannot be of an identical pattern. Some of these have had the objective of reform before them and, in fact, have been reformative in nature. But there have also been movements which, under the cover of bringing about reforms, have, in practice, lead to corruption. Yet there are other movements which at the outset did carry with them a reformative aspect but deviated from that path later on.

The uprisings of the 'Alavis' during the Omayyid and the Abbasid caliphate were reformative movements. Contrary to it, the movements spearheaded by Baabak-e Khorramdeen and some more movements in the line, were only corruption so as to be counter-productive to the interests of the Islamic world. It minimised people's hatred and fury against the oppressive government of the Abbasi caliphs against whom it had revolted. Perhaps one of the reasons of relative longivity of the Abbasid caliphate is the appearance of the uprisings like that of Baabak. In fact such revolts should be considered only the 'chances' for the Abbasid rule.

The 'Shoobiyyeh' uprising began with a reformative note because it stemmed from the opposition of the people to the policy of discrimination adopted by the Omayyids. Their slogan was : 'Verily, the most pious among you is of the highest excellence before the God'. Since the Shoobiyyeh

rose against the policy of discrimination, they came to be called 'Ahlut-tasveya' and because the above mentioned Kor'anic verse was their slogan, they were called 'Shoobiyyeh'. But unfortunately they deviated in the very path against which they had risen in revolt meaning that they fell victims to the notion of the difference of race and nation. Their later attitude invited the hatred of justice-loving and truth-seeking elements among true Muslims. In fact deviation of the Shoobiyyeh from their original outlook may also be counted as a chance of survival for the Abbasid caliphate. Perhaps the Abbasids contrived to effect the deviation of the Iranians from the recognized path of Islamic justice and take recourse to the slogan of Iranian racism. Exclusive support of the Abbasid caliphs to the extremist group of the Shoobiyyeh which shaped in the course of history, lends weight to this conjucture.

Islamic reformative moments have been partly social and partly socio-intellectual. The movement initiated by Ghazali was purely intellectual. To him Islamic sciences and Islamic thought appeared to have suffered damages. He, therefore, ventured to undertake compilation of his treatise entitled the 'Revival of Religious Sciences.' The movement of the Alavis or that of Sarbadaars was a social movement directed against the ruling class. The movement of 'Ekhwaan-us-Safaa' was intellectual as well as social in its nature.

Some of the movements, like the ones mentioned above, were progressive[1] but some others like those of Ashari in the

1. *From a few aspects Ghazali's movement was progressive but from others reactionary. See 'Mahajjat-ul-Baiza', by Faiz.*

fourth century, Wahhabis in the twelfth century and Akhbaaris (among Shias) in the tenth century were only reactionary.

All these movements, theoretical or practical, progressive or reactionary, ask for a detailed and wide study. This becomes more necessary in view of the fact that of late some opportunists have exploited the existing vacuum and have made attempts to conduct 'motivated' and pre-concieved' studies in the movements in Islamic history so as to place their tailored opinions before the uninformed masses.

At present we shall make a short survey of reformative movements in Islam during the last one hundred years for this period is nearer to us and to the present life. We shall try to trace the implications of the current Islamic and reformative movements in contemporary times.

Near about the second half of the thirteenth century Hijra corresponding to nineteenth century of Christian era, there appeared a reform movement in the Islamic world embracing Iran, Egypt, Syria, Labenon, North Africa, Turkey, Afghanistan and India. Men who claimed to be the reformers and who put forth their ideas and theories of reforms, appeared on the scene in these countries. These movements took place after a long spell of stagnation extending over several centuries. To a certain extent, these reflected reaction to the western political, economic and cultural colonialism and in a way came to be recognised as something like revival and renaissance in the Islamic world.

Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din

Undoubtedly the pioneer of a chain of reform movements during last hundred years is Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Assadaa-

baadi, better known as Afghani. It was he who awakened the Islamic states to the need of reform; made an objective appraisal of the social ills of the Muslims and indicated to them the path of reform and remedy to these ills.

Though much is being said and written about Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, yet very little is told about his doctrine of reformation. Or perhaps little of such doctrines is known and heard by me. However, it will be profitable to know what ills in the Islamic society have been identified by Sayyid Jamal; what remedies have been suggested by him and lastly what means did he choose to achieve the objectives of his reform doctrine.

The movement which he initiated was intellectual as well as social in its content. He wanted to bring about resurrection in the thoughts of the Musalmans as well as in their life organisations. He did not confine himself to one city, one country or even to one continent. Spending a little time in each country, he travelled through the length and breadth of Asia, Europe and Africa. In each country which he visited, he established rapport with various groups of its people so much so that we are told of his practically joining the military contingents in some countries in order to extend his influence among the soldiers.

Sayyid's travels in different Islamic countries and his observing them from close quarters helped him to know those countries very closely. He found the opportunity of understanding their complexities and also respective personalities with full insight. His travels in different parts of the world, especially his comparatively longer stay in western countries

helped him grasp all that was happening in the developed world together with the nature of the European civilization and also the true intentions of the European leaders. In the course of his struggle and mission the Sayyid understood his age and his world as well as the exact malady of the Islamic states for the cure of which he had launched a mission.

Internal despotism and foreign colonialism were the most important and the most conspicuous ills from which, according to Sayyid, the Islamic society suffered. His relentless struggle was directed towards their eradication. At last he sacrificed his life in the pursuit of his mission.

In order to fight the two paralysing factors, he considered it necessary as well as obligatory that the Muslims should become politically conscious and should actively participate in politics. In order to regain their lost glory and to carve out an honourable place for themselves in the world for which they are possessed of due competence, the Sayyid considered it urgent and unavoidable that the Muslims should return to the original Islam which, in fact, meant re-infusing the real Islamic soul into the half-dead body of the Musalman. The first condition of this resurgence was discarding the corrupt practices and innovation. Then followed unity among the Muslims. He saw the hand of colonialism moving visibly or invisibly to sow the seeds of religious and non-religious discord and exposed their underlying designs.

The Distinctions

The first distinction of Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din is that as a result of his close knowledge of the Shia as well as Sunni society, he was able to comprehend fully the difference and

dichotomy that prevailed in the Shia and the Sunni church. He knew that the Sunni church is not an independent national organism and cannot be reckoned as a force capable of resisting the despotic and colonial forces. The Sunni church is aligned to the governments whom it has introduced to the society as 'The first to command' for centuries in the past. Hence the intellectuals were not in demand in the Sunni culture. It directly approached the people. Thus the Sunni culture does not offer any special distinction to the Sunni men of religious learning in as far as their ability of assuming the role of a base against authoritarianism and exploitation. Their role has nothing in it.

But in the Shia church, we shall find a marked distinction. It is an independent organism; a national force always standing by the side of the masses and always challenging the ruling faction. For this very reason, Sayyid Jamal first approaches the faction of the 'ulema' of the Shia society. He begins his propagation first among the intellectuals of that faith. He considers them the most suitable base to fight dictatorship and colonialism. The contents of his letters addressed to the Shia 'ulema' and especially those written to the late Haji Mirza Hasan Shirazi and his resolutions sent to very prominent personalities among the Shia divines at Tehran, Meshed, Isfahan, Tabriz, Shiraz, the holy places etc. very emphatically reveal this point.

Sayyid Jamal states that although some members of the Shia church have had apparently established close connections with the contemporary autocratic institution, yet they continued to safeguard their relationship with the church, the people and the religion. From the enemy's camp, they served

the interests of the people. However if there were persons who in reality were in collusion with the dictators—and no doubt there were—these are only exceptions. In general, the Shia people never broke away their relationship with the Shia church during the long course of history.[1]

Sayyid Jamal's mission had considerable influence on the Shia church. It was obviously felt in the 'tobacco movement' which was exclusively led by the Shia divines and which dealt a blow to the internal absolutism and foreign colonialism. The influence was also to be witnessed in the constitutional movement of Iran which again was led and supported by the Shia. History does not at all project Sayyid Jamal as a revolutionary Muslim who degenerated or weakened the Shia church despite the fact that he had to face many difficulties and untoward things resulting from the ignorance of his critics.

Muheet Tabatabaai writes :

It was during the Sayyid's first travel in Europe, in connection with the publication of 'Arwatul Wasaqa', that he realized the potentiality of the divines in bringing about reforms. In a letter written from Europe to an Iranian living in Egypt under the fictitious name of Dagistani (to dodge the Iranian authorities), the Sayyid has mentioned in very clear terms that the Iranian divines have not ignored their role and duty. The Iranian authorities created hurdles for the people and were responsible for their backwardness, helplessness and destitution, he said.

1. *"Naghsh-e Ruhaniyat-e peshrow dar Junbish-e mashrootiyat-e Iran—Hamid Ilgar, translated by Abol Ghasim Siri.*

During his stay in Teheran, he never did nor gave expression to anything that might not be in a good taste for the divines. He rather made constant endeavour to establish perfect understanding with them. On his arrival in Iran, he distributed the copies of his journal 'Nigeria'—recently translated into Arabic and published at Bairut—among the scholars and the learned men. During his meeting with the teachers of religious science, he made it a point to avoid any utterance which might smack of vanity and self-importance. It has been related that late Mr. Jalveh had told the Sayyid during their first meeting that the Sayyid was reported to be lecturing on the ideas of the Shiekh (Abu Ali Seena) in Egypt. The Sayyid is reported to have given him an apposite answer so that the latter would not get infuriated.

The second distinction of Sayyid Jamal is that though he was a reformist inducing the Muslims to learn modern science and technology and draw from the western civilization, to fight illiteracy, ignorance and overcome their shortcomings in the field of technology and industry, yet he was fully conscious of the dangers of extremism in modernization. His theory was that the Muslims should strike balance between the acquisition of western science and technology and their view of the world. In other words he did not like the Muslims to be carried away by the glamour of the west and to begin to look at the outer world not from Islamic but from the western point of view. Sayyid Jamal fought not only against western political. colonialism but also against cultural colonialism. He joined issue with those who wanted to interpret the world and of course the holy Kor'an and Islamic philosophy from purely western point of view. He did not

consider it justifiable to interpret and explain the meta-physical thought-content of the Kor'an in terms of conscious and material matters of man.

During his visit to India, the Sayyid was introduced to an Indian Muslim reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Sayyid Jamal observed that the Indian reformer was attempting at interpreting metaphysical questions on the natural plane under the pretext of science; that he was trying to explain the reason and the non-existent by the palpable and the visible and that he was trying to comprehend the miracles in their ordinary and common meaning although these are quite obvious in the Kor'an and that the cosmic content of the holy book was being made earthly. He objected to it. A contemporary writer dealing with the Sayyid's visit to India and his reaction says :

> If Sayyid Ahmad spoke of reform in religion, Sayyid Jamal warned the Muslims against the demagogic reformers as also against the dangers of extremism in bringing about reforms. Whereas Sayyid Ahmad advocated the need for the Muslims to imbibe new ideas, Sayyid Jamal stuck to the argument that religious beliefs alone, more than any other factor, had the ability to lead the man on the right path. If Sayyid Ahmad encouraged the Muslims to adopt new methods of training, Sayyid Jamal considered these methods naturally detrimental to the religion and the community of the Indian Muslims. Thus Sayyid Jamal, hitherto known as a protagonist of new ideas and learning was constrained to assume the role of a staunch defender of old tradition and

> thought when faced with a radical like Sayyid Ahmad in India. Notwithstanding all this, he persisted with his earlier concept of the need of religio-intellectual movement.[1]

The ills eating into the entrails of the Islamic society identified by Sayyid Jamal were as under :

1. Absolutism of the governing machine.
2. Obstinacy and ignorance of the Muslim masses and their lagging behind the caravan of science and civilization.
3. Spreading of corrupt ideas among Muslims and their remoteness from the original Islam.
4. Disunity and discord among the Muslims in term of religious and non-religious matters.
5. Influence of western colonialism.

In order to seek a remedy to these ills, the Sayyid pre[illegible] into service all possible modes and methods—travels, con tacts, lectures, publications, journals, organizing parties and groups and even entering military service. He lived for sixty years and remained a bachelor.[2] He could not have a settled life for, uncertain as his life was, he moved from country to country, often spending his time either in prison, in exile or under house arrest.

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1. *Sairi dar Andesheh ha-e Siyasi Arab, Dr. Hamid Enayat, Page 86.*
2. *Born in 1224 Hijri and died (martyred) 1354 H.*

The remedial measures suggested by him to the ills identified already were as follows :

1. *A struggle against the absolutism of the authorities in power :* Who should undertake this struggle ? The people. But how are the people to be brought on to the field of struggle ? Is the way to tell them how their rights have been trampled ? Of course this is of primal importance but not sufficient. What then is to be done ?

   The fundamental task is to establish firm faith that political struggle is a religious and covenanted obligation. This is the only way and the people should not rest content unless they attain this objective. People are in a big mistake to think that from Islamic point of view politics and religion are not separated from one another. The relation between religion and politics ought to be clarified to the common people.

   The need to emphasise the co-relation of religion and politics, the need to bring home the importance of political awareness as a covenanted affair for each Muslim and the necessity of his involvement in the political destiny of his country as well as the Islamic society were the doctrines which the Sayyid preached as remedies to the existing ills. He was practically involved in confrontation with the contemporary autocrats and induced his followers to rise against them. The assassination of Nasir-ud-Din Shah is attributed to him at times.

2. *Equipping with modern science and technology :* As a matter of fact, the Sayyid did not take any positive step in this direction like establishing schools or scientific societies. All that he did in this context was what he preached in his writings and lectures.

3. *Return to the original Islam* : It meant abolishing corrupt practices and useless appendages made to Islam in the course of her long history. For the Sayyid, the return to the original Islam, meant return to the Kor'an, the recognised tradition and the pure early life. He has not proposed the return to Kor'an only for he knew well that the Kor'an in turn considered the return to tradition as necessary. Above all he had fully comprehended the underlying philosophy of the sentence "Suffices the Book of God" a word which had been distorted in all ages in a way to deface Islam.

4. *Faith and confidence in the school :* In his writings and his speeches, the Sapyid endeavoured to reassure the Muslim mind that Islam as a school of thought and as an ideology had the potential to deliver the Muslims and to liberate them from internal authoritarianism and foreign colonialism leading them finally to a place of honour and prestige. The Muslims, he said, should have full faith that they stand in the need of no other school nor should they look up for one.

This concept led the Sayyid to bring out in his writings and his speeches the bright features of Islam like giving due

recognition to the powers of intellect, logical argumentation and inference; or the ability of a man to attain all possible heights except of prophethood by strictly treading along the path of Islamic teachings and nobility of self or that Islam is the religion of science, the religion of action and hard work, the religion of struggle and effort, the religion of reform and struggle against corruption, the religion permitting and forbidding, the religion of honour and non-acceptance of dishonour, and the religion of accepting responsibilities.

The Sayyid laid great emphasis on the concept of unity in Islam declaring that Islam accepted only the reasoned faith as the sole basis of its concept of unity. The reasoned and argued faith, he said, is the great repudiator of all false beliefs. He said that a society which believes that its fundamentals have to be grasped through the instrumentality of reason and faith and not through conjucture and hypothesis nor blind following, ought to show its utter disregard to superstition and corruption. The people, therefore, ought to be educated about reasoned faith so that the credit and respect of intellect from religious point of view are established.

For this very reason, the Sayyid advocated the need of a divine Islamic philosophy and its acquisition by his followers. He induced his faithful student, Mohammad Abdoh to study philosophy. It is said that Abdoh made out two copies of the 'Isharaat' of Abu Ali Sina (Avicena) in his own hand concluding one of them with an encomium for the Sayyid. Perhaps it was a result of this encouragement that Abdoh undertook the printing and publication of some books on philosophy. For the first time he published the 'Najaat'

of Abu Ali, 'Al-Basaair-ul Nasriyeh' of Ibn Sehlaan Saavaji and perhaps also a part of Avicena's 'al Mantiq-ul Mashriqieen".

In his work 'Zahr-ul Islam'[1], Ahmad Amin says that philosophy is more compatible with the Shia thought than with the Sunni thought. Continuing his observations, he says that during the times of Fatimides, the Shia rulers of Egypt, philosophy came to be popularised. With their extinction and rejuvenation of Sunni spirit, philosophy left the lands of Egypt. In recent years, Sayyid Jamal, tending Shia proclivities, paid a visit to Egypt and once again philosophy came to be revived in that land.

In pursuance of the mission before him, the mission of introducing Islam as a school of thought and an ideology, comprehensive and independent, he rose to defend what was being criticised of Islam in European countries. In Europe, Islam was introduced as a religion of helplessness and negation denying individual freedom. The critics contended that the cause of decline of Islam was the blind faith of the Muslims in the pre-ordained and in the helplessness of man.[2] They preached that Islam was an anti-science religion and the reason of the Muslims keeping themselves away from sciences should be explored in its very teachings. In his journal 'Arwat-ul Wasaqa', the Sayyid wrote an article in defence of the Islamic concept of 'pre-destined' and 'man's helplessness'. He ventured to argue that in its Islamic sense, the

1. *Vol. I, pp. 190.*
2. *'Insaan wa Sarnavisht by Morteza Motheri.*

concept was not only non-degenerating, but on the contrary it contributed to the progress and development.[1] Thus he gave a befitting reply to the French philosopher Ernest Renan, a contemporary critic of Islam who considered this religion as anti-science and responsible for the decline of the Muslims.[2]

5. *Struggle against foreign colonialism* : This meant political exploitation leading to interference in the internal affairs of Islamic countries and also economic colonialism leading to eliciting of cruel privileges, a general loot of financial and economic resources of Islamic world and lastly cultural colonialism leading to the effacing of the culture from Islamic point of view and making the Muslims shaky about what they had or continue to have of culture. The latest colonialism was to make an attempt of introducing the western culture as the sole human culture that could bring prosperity. Cultural colonialism came to be of the extent that some of the Muslim intellectuals were made to believe that if the Easterner desired to become civilized, he must become an outright European. He should adopt European script, language, style of his dress, customs, formalities, literature, beliefs, philosophies, arts, character and all the rest of it.

In order to meet the double pronged attack, the Sayyid considered it necessary to bring about co-relation between religion and politics; between internal authoritarianism and foreign colonialism. He made strenous effort to

1. *Payeh guzar - i Nehzatha - e Islami - Sayyid Jamaluddin.*
2. *Refer the Journal "Islam wa Elm" by Hadi Khosrovshahi.*

arouse the religious conscience of the Muslims for a struggle against absolutism and colonialism and this occupied the faremost place in his overall programme of reformation.

Subsequently, the retaliatory efforts made by the stooges of imperialism to draw a wedge between religion and politics assumed the currency under the term 'secularism' or 'almaaniyyat'. The champion of this counter move was Ata Turk and the aim was only to challenge the programme of the Sayyid. The concept of secularism was publicised in the Arab world by the Arab Christians. It is self-explanatory that if religion and politics are made co-relative, then the Arab Christians would be left with no role to play in the society. But the Arab Christians were not alone in their propagation of the concept of secularism. Some of the Muslims too became staunch advocates of this philosophy. What is more interesting, even many religion-abiding intellectuals were to be found among these advocates. The question is why did it happen ?

These Muslims had something else to complain of. we know that in the Sunni world, the caliphs and the rulers were regarded as one whose obedience was a religious duty. Co-relation between religion and politics assumed a shape in which religion was made to play a role subservient to politics. Thus their objective was that the Ottomon Caliph or an Egyptian governor should occupy only temporal and not ecclesiastical position so that the religious and national conscience of the people remain outside the pale of his criticism. This was a correct attitude The type of a combination between religion and politics propounded by Sayyid Jamal and others of his school of thought was not one which perpetrated political authoritarianism under the

veil of religions sanctimony. What he actnally preached was that the Muslim masses should consider their involvement in their political destiny as a religious duty and responsibility. Co-relation between religion and politics does not mean the alignment of religion with politics but the vice versa.

Some Arab Muslims, while upholding secularism and disengagement of religion from politics, did not, however, want to deny the involvement of the masses in politics as a religious obligation. But the separation of the church from politics as a policy-matter, propagated and carried out by Ata Turk in Turkey, was a misfortune for his people. Iran followed suit and in practice it meant extirpation of religion from the field of politics. In other words it meant severing of one of the dearest limbs from the body of Islam.

Association of religion with politics in the sense mentioned above—sanctimonizing the ruling cadre—is the speciality of the Sunni world. The Shiaism did not recognize it. The interpretation of 'Ulu-ul amr' (Supreme to command) from the Shia point of view is diametrically opposed to the one given by the Sunni order.

6. *Islamic Unity :* It was perhaps Sayyid Jamal who for the first time raised the slogan of Unity of Islam against the west[1]. Unity ofIslam did not mean the unity of religion which was an impracticable thing. What it meant was the unity of a political front or the organisation of a single

1. *In his book 'Naghsh-e Sayyid Jamal dar Bidari-e mashrigh zamin", Moheet Tabatabai has initiated a lively discussion and considers Nadir as its harbinger.*

united front to challenge the colonialists.[1]

The Sayyid cautioned the Muslims that the spirit of crusades still throbbed with its intensity in the Christian west and especially in England. No doubt the west wore the mask of liberalism to condemn fanaticism, yet it had got bogged down in by unrelenting fanaticism specially religious prejudice against the Muslims. But contrary to what the Europeans preached outwardly, the Sayyid argued that prejudice was not bad. Like all other things, prejudice had its extremes as well as it moderations. Extremism in prejudice gives rise to illogical and blind adherence and that is bad. But prejudice in the sense of resolute support to the logical and reasonable position or belief is highly appreciable, the Sayyid contended.

The Europeans who understand well that religion is the strongest link that binds the Muslims together, are making an effort to weaken this link by their feigned opposition to prejudice. Gladstone is the spokesman of St. Peters, a reminiscent of the crusades.[2]

Sayyid's realistic thinking became more loud when during the World War I, the Europran commanders of the Jewish armies took hold of Palestine in the cours of Arab-Israel war and handed it over to the Jews. The Zionist government of Israel came to be established and its anuouncement "Now the crusades are over", is a proof of our statement.

Through the instrumentality of colonialism the concepts

1. *Ibid pp. 77 - 128. Also refer "Al Ghadir wa wahdat-i Islami" in the memorial volume to "Allama Amini".*
2. *Sairi dar andeshee ha - e Arab, pp. 102.*

of raceism and nationalism were given currency and the slogans like Pan-Arabism, Pan-Iranism, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Hinduism etc. came to be raised in Islamic countries. It was preparatory to the intensification of a policy under which the religious factions among the Muslims began to clash with one another, the Shias and the Sunnis. Division of Islamic lands into smaller and rival states is nothing but a retaliatory measure of colonialism to the movement of Islamic unity.

7. Infusing the spirit of struggle and resistance in the half-dead body of Islamic society was what the Sayyid aimed at. He made the Muslims recollect the forgotten principle of 'Jehad' (religious war) because its negligence was the main reason of their decline. If the spirit of crusades still persisted with the westerners, why did the Muslims neglect their spirit of resistance ? In "Sairi dar andesheh-ha-e Siyasi Arab", the author writes.

The Sayyid considered Britain not only a colonial power but also the sworn enemy of the Muslims. He was of the opinion that the aim before Britain was to put an end to Islam. Once he said that Britain is an enemy of the Muslims because the Muslims are the followers of Islam. It has been the considered policy of Britain to snatch away a portion of Islamic land and hand it over to some other community.[1] Thus she welcomes the defeat of the people of the faith and considers her own benefit in their destitution and destruction. The Sayyid's anti-British understanding reassured him that Islam was a religion of resistance and struggle and as such he laid extraordinary stress on the obligation of waging a

1. *Belfour Declaration.*

religious war. In his opinion, there was no alternative to the use of force to confront a government which aimed at the destruction of Islam.[2]

8 *Struggle against being* over-awed *by the west :* The Muslims, by and large, remained uninformed of the events that shaped in the west during the nineteenth century. If they happened to undertake a trip to Europe, and came to know a little of what had been obtaining in the west , they were greatly over-awed or infatuated by her. They felt that the Muslim of the East could not claim to be a rival of the Christian west nor could imagine of rising in resistance. During one of his travels in the west, Nasir-ud Din Shah told his Prime Minister, "Mr. Prime Minister, we shall not catch up with the West. All that you should do is to see that no body raises his voice as long as I am alive."

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the Muslim leader of India was a fighter against the British colonialism during the early days of his career. It has been agreed to by his friends as well as his foes that his first visit to Britain in 1284 Hijri made a deep impression on him. Having witnessed that expansive civilization and the political, economic, military and cultural might of the west, thoughts of a struggle against colonialism almost evaporated into the air. He was influenced and overawed by the western culture to the extent that he considered it unbreakable, unquestionable. He thought that a struggle against the British might was an exercise in futility. Thereafter he not only disassociated himself from the struggle which the Hindus along with the like-minded Muslims were

1. *Saireedar, pp 101-102*

carrying on against the British colonialism, but even undermined the struggle of the Muslim League of which Iqbal was a member. He withdrew his support and cooperation to it. He framed the opinion that the only path for the Muslims was to win the favour of the British as against the Hindus. Henceforth the changed Sir Sayyid became a propagator of western civililization and culture. Perhaps he even attempted to interpret the Kor'an from the western materialistic point of view.

But contrary to this, Sayyid Jamal was neither over-awed nor unduly infatuated by the western civilization. He cautioned the Muslims against disappointment and fear and summoned them to muster courage to fight the phantom of western colonialism, Dr. Hamid Enayat writes :

> "Sayyid Jamal endeavoured to intensify his fight against fear and disappointment through his journal "Arwat ul Wasagha" which was being published from Paris in Arabic language. This was done at a time when the British imperialism in Asia had attained full supremacy. In the wake of several events like the defeat of Iran in Herat war of 1856, failure of the mutiny in India in 1857 and the occupation of Egypt in 1882, the British colonialism appeared unrelenting to the mind of the Muslims. The Sayyid was convinced that unless the Muslims liberated themselves from a sense of helplessness against the British imperialism, they could not be expected to rise in revolt against foreign colonialism and internal authoritarianism. He made it a mission of his life to infuse a spirit of defiance and resistance among the Muslims. He emphasised that unity in the Muslims rank and file and oneness of direction among them could prove strong deterrents to the expansionist and bullying designs of the British.

An article under the headline "A Story" appeared in an issue of the journal "Arwat-ul Wasagha" in which the point was mootly made by the Sayyid. It may be summarized here :

> In the outskirts of the city of Istakhr, there was a prayer—house in which travellers sought refuge from the fear of darkness of the night. But everyone who went into the temple met with mysterous death. This created fear among the people who no more looked forth to the prayer-house as a place of security. At last a man fed up with his life but possessing firm determination went inside the temple. A fearful and awe-inspiring sound arose suddenly from all the corners threatening his life. But the man remained undeterred and made a challenging utterance that he was prepared to confront for he was fed up with his life. With his utterance, there occurred a big blast breaking the mystery that surrounded the prayer house. From the big cracks in the walls of the temple, its treasurers rolled down the feet of the man. Thus it came to be understood that what had killed the travellers was nothing but the sense of ambiguous fear. Great Britain is a similar large prayer-house wherein the misdirected people, scared by the darkness of politics seek

refuge. Then the haunting ideas of some unfounded fears lay their fatal hands on their shoulders. There might some day appear a man worn out in his life but still possessed of a dauntless spirit and he might then venture to enter the mysterious prayer-house giving out a loud cry which would crush the walls.[1]

This is the same story that we find in the Third Book of the Mathnavi of Rumi under the title 'The Guest-Killing Mosque'. But the Sayyid has modified it slightly to prayer-house instead of the 'mosque' so that the contents become more appropriate for the non-Muslim environment.

The Sayyid's Ambition

Summarising the reform programme and the social ideology for the Muslim society envisaged by the Sayyid, it may be said that unity should supersede everything else. Differences on account of race, language, region and group should not, in any case, override the fundamental factor of Islamic brotherhood, and nothing should be allowed to undermine the spiritual, cultural and ideological unity of the Muslims. His conception of the Muslim world was one where individuals would be well-informed and educated, conversant with the science and technology of contemporary times and free from all kinds of colonial and authoritarian assertives. He wanted the Muslims to adjust the western civilization to the Islamic civilization and not the other way round.

1. *Sairi dar Andesheh-ha-e Siyasi-e Arab pages 99-100, drawn from Arwatul Wasagha, 223-224*

The authority of Islam should be the authority of the days of its origin, simple and without the complex paraphernalia that came to be attached to it during the course of its history. The spirit of struggle for the righteous should return to the Muslims and the self-respect and honour which in other words mean rejecting absolutism and imperialism should be revived.

As far as we know, the Sayyid has not given expression to his opinion about the feudal system that existed in the Islamic society of his days, or the family organisation and the system of the Islamic sciences with which he had deep attachment. One cannot imagine what the ideas of the Sayyid would have been regarding adoption of these systems in accordance with the established Islamic practices. No doubt he waged an unrelenting war against the contemporary autocratic governments, but he did not spell out in discreet terms his Islamic political philosophy to which he had constantly shown a great liking. Nothing was said about its shape and form. Perhaps his preoccupations with a perpetual struggle against absolutism and colonialism did not spare him the time to attend to these matters. Perhaps he believed that the first step in the direction of a revolution and resurgence of Islam was the struggle against dictatorship and colonialism and that once the Muslim nation had fulfilled this task, it would not be difficult to ascertain the next right step to be taken. The second part of a long struggle was, therefore, left by him to the posterity.

The Sayyid's Distinctions

The Sayyid was gifted with natural as well as acquired

qualities, the like of which, it is impossible to find. This has been confirmed by all who saw him from close quarters. Besides extraordinary intelligence, he was also gifted with the quality of great and powerful oratory and his words worked magic. His orations in Egypt stirred the minds of his listners making them cry with emotion.

To speak of his acquired qualities, the foremost is his real Islamic culture. He received his early education at Qazvin, Teheran and Najaf. At the last mentioned place, he benefitted exclusively from two outstanding personalities of his times; the great religious scholar Hajji Shiekh Murtaza Ansaaree and the eminent philosopher and spiritualist Mulla Husaingholi Hamadaani. Both of them were the celebrated students of the renowned Mulla Hadi Sabzwari and the Sayyid learned the rational sciences from them. Besides these two outstanding men of learning, the Sayyid had become a friend and comrade of two venerable persons in Najaf. They were the late Sayyid Ahmad Teherani Kerbalai, the well-known spiritualist and philosopher of his times and the late Sayyid Saeed Hâbbubi, the great revolutionary, poet, writer and the spiritualist of Iraq who had played a very significant role in the Iraqi revolution. Their friendship and comradeship was cultivated by the Sayyid during their stewardship at the school of the late Akhoond Hamadaani.

The biographers of the Sayyid appear to be uninformed about the moral, philosophical, practical and theoretical views of the school to which Akhund Hamadaani belonged. They are not as well informed about the character and personality of Ahmad Teherani Kerbalaai and Sayyid Saeed Habbubi. This has been the reason for these biographers

to give a very scant notice to the influence of these two learned men on the Sayyid. But when the writer of these lines happened to discover the influence, it revealed one more dimension of the personality of the Sayyid and the significance of his role

The Sayyid's extensive knowledge of Islamic culture and its profound influence of on him helped him resist the temptation of being swayed by the European culture with which he had come across during his visit to India.

The second distinction of the Sayyid was his knowledge of the times and the world he lived in. He knew a number of foreign languages like English, French and even Russian (according to Asaar-ul Ajam). He travelled in the continents of Asia, Europe and parts of Africa. He met and talked with the leading intellectuals and politicians of the world and this helped him cultivate a very broad and cosmopolitan vision.

His third distinction was to know the Islamic world from very close distance—the world for whose liberation and emancipation he had put in his ceaseless efforts. He travelled in most of these lands and established contacts with the people there. These countries include Hejaz, Egypt, India, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan. He spent some time in these countries and that enabled him to understand analytically their movements, trends and personalities. This also contributed to his security against such mistakes to which other reformers fell a victim.

His fourth distinction was of having a wide range of information about the political, economic and geographical conditions of the Islamic countries. His letter to Mirza Hasan

Shirazi is indicative of his uptodate knowledge of the contemporary Iranian affairs and the intrigues of the imperialists being worked out behind the scene.

Shiekh Mohammad Abdoh

Next to Sayyid Jamal, the person who demands our attention as a reformer in the Sunni world and especially in the Arab society, is the student and the follower of the Sayyid namely Shiekh Mohammad Abdoh. He considered his life and spirit obliged to the Sayyid, his preceptor and his guide.

Abdoh's views on the prevailing ills in Islamic countries were identical with those of his master. But one thing which distinguished Abdoh from his master was his attention to the confusion in the religious thoughts of the Muslims created by coming into contact with the western civilization and the demands of the modern world of Islam. For a few centuries in the past, the Muslims had been facing the decline and as a result they did not find themselves fully prepared to meet this critical situation. In short what troubled Abdoh's mind most after his separation from Sayyid Jamal and return to Egypt, was the solution to the persisting question of 'Islam and the demands of the time'. The approach to the question carried with it two considerations. One is that as a result of intellectual stagnation or pseudo-intellectualism of some of the men of religious learning, Islam should not be made a pretext to obstruct the progress of the Egyptian society and that forces from among the Musalmans themselves should not be instigated to rise against Islam itself as has happened in some of the Muslim countries. The second is that in the process of a search for compatability between Islam and

science, extremism is avoided and that the principles and tenets of Islam are not compromised as did happen with a particular group. In doing so, there could be an apprehension of Islam being driven away from the stage. In contrast to Sayyid Jamal, Abdoh realized his responsibilities as a scholar of religion would do. Therefore he looked for a code of conduct which had the capability to prevent extremism.

From this point of view, Abdoh raised such issues as were not raised by Sayyid Jamal; the questions like jurisprudence, induction of the philosophic fundaments of law into the science of discovery of religious truths based on the scripture and Traditions (Ijtehad), creation of a new legal system in jurisprudence which could meet the needs of the day; recognition of his distinction between prayers and business matters or in other words differentiation between what pertains to spiriual and the other world on the one hand and the material world and life on the other etc. The other matters to which he paid attention are many like a particular point of view about congregation viz. that the basic principle of 'Conference' in Islam is the very basic principle of democracy which the West was able to present centuries later.

Like his master, Abdoh made an endeavour to prove that Islam had the potential to be a school of thought and a guiding ideology and the repository of the philosophy of entire Islamic society. It had the ability to lead its adherent to honour in the material world and prestige in the hereafter. He, therefore, sought to make clear the temporal and social philosophy behind the Islamic principles about Prayer,

fasting, pilgrimage, alms and provisions and also the principles governing morality as propounded by Islam.

Again, he pursued the mission of Sayyid Jamal of bringing about unity in the Islamic world. He exhibited his utter dissatisfaction with group prejudices. In his own words, once when he comprehended the contents of "Nehej-ul Balageh", he undertook to write and publish a commentary on it. He did not desist from outright and eloquent appreciation of the utterances of Ali.

On two counts Abdoh differed from the opinion of Sayyid Jamal. Whereas Abdoh advocated gradual reformation, the Sayyid stood for revolution. Again it is the matter of priorities on which the two differed. The Sayyid gave the highest priority to a struggle against authoritarianism and colonialism in a progromme of reformation of Islamic society. But Abdoh, at least during the last days of his life when he had separated from the Sayyid and returned to Egypt, held the belief that education and training of the society should have the priority over its political education and activity.

In the work "Sairee dar andesheh-ha-e Siyasi-e Arab", the work of Abdoh has been summed up as follows :

"With regard to the effects of the missions of Sayyid Jamal and Abdoh in terms of the awakening of the Muslims. They differ from each other in a large measure. The Sayyid was essentially a redoubtable fighter and a man of action but Abdoh was a moderatist and a thinker. The Sayyid considered that the only path to the attainment of freedom for the Muslims was that of thought-provocation but Abdoh attached more importance to their moral and religious training. The Sayyid's efforts encompassed almost the whole of Islamic world but Abdoh restricted his activities to the reformation of the Egyptian society only. But this very contrast in the mode of these two reformers makes them complementary to each other.

Fundamentally both emphasised the need to return to the basic sources of religious thought.[1] Both depended on the rational interpretation of the commands of religion and their harmonization with the current issues.[2] Both laid stress upon avoiding disunity and groupism among Muslims[3] and both were equivocal in emphasising the importance of efforts for the revival and proper evaluation of the spirit of Islam transcending the dry and insipid dogmatism of the so-called men of religious learning who, in fact, were the hirelings of the contemporary governments. These principles were made the basis of the modernisation of Sunnism".

KAWAAKEBEE

The third champion of Sunni reformation is Shiekh

1. *Meaning the realisation that what the Muslims of today are offered as Islam, is a distorted picture of Islam.*
2. *The realisation that the Muslims should understand Islam through logical reasoning and not by mere blind following of generation after generation. This would give them an intellectual dynamism as against illogical and irrational blind following.*
3. *The Sayyid is reported to have said that the only thing in which the Muslims agree with a unanimous opinion is their disagreement to have the unanimity of opinion.*

Abdur-Rehmaan Kawakebee, a native of Syria who traces his descent from the line of Shiekh Safi-ud Din Ardabili. He knew Persian and Turkish languages and has been counted among the followers of Abdoh and indirectly of Sayyid Jamal. Born at Syria in 1271 Hijri, he spent the major portion of his life in his native country. Towards the later period of his life, he moved to Egypt where after a few years stay, he passed away in 1320 Hijri at the age of fifty.

Kawaakebee was an Islamic thinker who stood against authoritarianism He struggled hard against the Turkish autocrats who ruled over Syria. Kawaakebee has left behind two works; one is 'Tabayeh-ul Istebdad', translated into Persian during the constitutional movement in Iran, and the other 'Ummul Qura' in which he has set forth his suggestions for reform.

Like Sayyid Jamal, Kawaakebee also held the political awakening of the Muslims of primal need and importance. He further believed that a 'political regime' even it it is constitutional or of any other shape, is not by itself, strong enough to checkmate authoritarianism. It is just possible any type of regime might assume dictatorial attitude. What in fact can prevent absolutism, is the socio-political awakening and consciousness of the people and their ability of keeping a vigilent eye over the ruling class. The dragon of authoritarianism can be contained only through the awakened conscience of the masses, he said. But this does not mean that we have to do nothing with the existing regime and that its should be allowed to continue as it does. The regime is only when the level of the consciousness of the people is

high. Hence like Sayyid Jamal but unlike Abdoh, Kawaakebee stoutly maintained the opinion that involvement in politics and upgrading of the level of political consciousness of the Muslim masses should enjoy priority over all other programmes of reform. He was a staunch advocate of interconnection between religion and politics and believed that Islam was essentially a religion of politics. It was his firm belief that if the concept of "Islamic unity" succintly put in the phrase "There is no God but Allah", is rightly understood by the Muslims, they shall be in the command of the most formidable front against authoritarianism.

Like two of his illustrious predecessors (Sayyid Jamal and Abdoh), Kawaakebee relied completely on the concept of 'unity' from political and scientific aspects. To him the finest of Islamic assertions "There is no god but God" and the foundation on which the entire Islamic structure rests means that the true one to whom prayers have to be addressed is none but God Almighty and prayers mean humility and humbleness. It, therefore, follows that none but God Almighty alone demands submission and acquiescence from us. Any submission and acquiescence which, in final analysis do not tend to be in obedience to the commands of God, mean plural and idol-worship. He 'does not consider Islamic unity as merely intellectual, notional and speculative unity ending up in theory but drags it on to objectivity and practice meaning that there should be an established system of the concept of unity according to the Islamic faith.

In fairness one must acknowledge that no scholar of eminence has ever given a more subtle explanation of the concept of practical, social and political unity in Islam drawn

from the Kor'an and Nehej-ul Balageh than by that astute scholar-researcher, Mirza Mohammad Husain Naini in his valuable work entitled "Tanbih-ul Umma wa Tanzib-ul Milla". What the scholar like Kawakebee are in search of, the late Naini has put forth in his book in a befitting way drawing extensively from the reliable Islamic sources. But unfortunately the mob-mentality of our times reacted in a way that soon after the appearance of his work, he was forced to seal his lips.

Kawaakebee holds that each autocrat, in order to maintain himself in his seat of power, tries to assume the air of divinity. He pretends to share the knowledge of religion in order to serve his ulterior motives of strengthening his absolute rule. Only a high level of political and religious consciousness among the people can have the potential to resist the exploitation by the autocrat.

Kawaakebee has subjected some of the earlier Islamic (Sunni) scholars to criticism by saying that they attached more than necessary importance to order and security so much so that justice and freedom have been made a scapegoat to it. Under the pretext of order and security, they have obstructed the pace of freedom and this is exactly what the autocrats and the oppressors like. They have killed the supreme gift of God and the essence of humanism—freedom—under the pretext of maintaining law and order and have thus trampled justice under their feet.

In the matter of relation between order and freedom, Kawaakebee has declared the latter as of priority and similarly in the relationship between religion and politics or religion and freedom, he considers religion as the prime factor

n the process of winning the real freedom which awakens political consciousness. Commenting on the relationship between knowledge and freedom on the one hand and freedom and politics on the other, he asserts that all types of knowledge do not infuse us with an urge for freedom and from the point of social communication, these are not of one and the same degree. The autocrat, therefore, is not apprehensive of some of the sciences, rather himself becomes their promoter. But he is mortally scared of some other sciences for they bring social and political awakening among the people. They make them conscious of search for freedom and struggle against dictatorship, oppression and denial of freedom. Kawaakebee says :

> The autocrat is not afraid of the science of language nor of command on it as long as the faculty is not used to arouse the sense of bravery and heroism among the readers or the listners. This is so because he is confident that the poets like Hessan are too rare in the annals of history to arouse the sentiments for waging wars and marching the armies. A Montesquie or a Shelley is not born again. In the same way, the autocrat shows no intolerence to the sciences of religion if these only deal with the matter, for instance, of return to the hereafter or the issues like those of practical life and spiritualism etc. The sciences which pose a threat to the autocrat are, for instance, those pertaining to factual life, theoretical philosophy, rational philosophy, the rights of the citizens, the state and its government, history and oratory. He is mortified by the sciences which might lift the looming clouds of ignorance and thus

let the bright and warm sunshine penetrate into the darkest nook of human mind.[1]

Decline of the Urge of Reformation in the Arab World

The three outstanding personalities are the only reformers of any mark in the Sunni society who can be taken into any account. We mean Sayyid Jamal, Abdoh and Kawaakebee. In the order of their importance, they incidentally occupy respectively the first, the second and the third place. Their followers, and more especially those of Sayyid Jamal appeared in Egypt, Syria, Algiers, Tunisia and Morocco, claiming to be the reformers in the footsteps of Sayyid Jamal and Abdoh. But none of them could attain the position of any one of their predecessors. Even some of them deviated from the path of reform let alone subscribing to it, and instead of being known as reformers, they are now called depravers. One such person is Sayyid Mohammad Rashid Reza who more than anybody else, talked tall of reforms and proclaimed himself as one who carried onwards the mission of Sayyid Jamal and Abdoh. But instead of having accepted the influence of these two thinkers, he showed far greater inclination towards the thoughts of Ibn Neemeyeh and Mohammad bin Abdul Wahhaab both of whom were only the propagators of Wahhaabi faith and were not the reformers. His biased opinion especially in respect of the Shias proves that he was not capable of initiating any reform programme. The foremost condition of a disinterested reformer is that he should be free from extreme prejudice in favour of one sect or against the

1. *Sairee dar Andesheh-ha-e Siyasi-e Arab -169.*

other. Rashid Reza does not fulfil the basic requirement. It would have been really a marvel if he were as much denuded of prejudice as his teacher, Abdoh, was.

The question may be asked why did not, after the above mentioned three leading personalities, there appear a champion of reform programme in the Arab world? Why could not the subsequent so-called reformers continue the work of their predecessors. Among such so-called reformers, the names of Abdul Hamid ibn Badis Jazairi, Taahir-ul Zahrawi Suri, Abdul Qadir Maghribee, Jamal ud Din Kaazemi Suri, Mohammad Basheer Ebraahimee and others may be mentioned. Why, after all, did the Islamic reformative movement lose its appeal in Islamic countries and as against it, why did the nationalist and Arab movements like the Bathists, Nasserism or the Socialist and Marxist movements succeed in attracting the Arab youth?

Every one can put forth his argument or make out a reason. But in the opinion of the writer of this booklet the most significant reason for the recession of an Islamic movement initiated by Sayyid Jamal is the unrestricted inclination of the so-called reformers after the Sayyid and Abdoh towards Wahhaabiism and their entaglement in the narrow speculations of that school. They reduced this movement to a kind of antiquitarianism wherein the pursuance of the early ways came to be degenerated into the following of Ibn Teimia Hanbalee. Infact in their effort of return to the original Islam, they did not go beyond the Hanbalee school which is the most superficial of Islamic ways. The revolutionary spirit of struggle against imperialism and authoritarianism

yielded its place to a struggle against the beliefs of t
Hanbalites especially those of Ibn Teimia Hanbalee.

IQBAL

Outside the Arab world, there did appear a few reforme
of whom some could be considered as champions. Iqbal
Lahore should unquestionably be considered a champion
reform in the Islamic world whose reform ideas transcend
his native land. Iqbal has certain merits as also so
demerits.

Among his merits is his commendable knowledge of t
western culture and his deep acquaintance with the philos
phical and social trends in the west to the extent that
came to be known in the west as a thinker and a phi
sopher.

His next merit is that despite his deep and extens
knowledge of the western culture, Iqbal believed that t
west was devoid of a comprehensive ideology for manki
In comparison, he believed that the Muslims alone had be
gifted with such an ideology. Hence Iqbal, while implori
the Muslims to acquire the western sciences and wealth, c
tioned them to avoid being infatuated by all sorts
western 'isms'. He says :

> Europes examplification never went into her life
> an active element. It has resulted in the creation
> an 'ego' without a direction which, amidst inco
> patible democracies, is in search of itself—
> democracies whose only purpose is to exploit
> poor for the benefit of the rich. Believe me t

> the Europe of today is the biggest obstacle in the progress of human ethics. On the other hand, the Muslims are possessed of definite and supreme objectives and thoughts based on inspiration rising out of the inner most depths of life. Though it appears exoteric in its nature yet to them it has the sense.[1]

Another aspect of Iqbal's merits is that his mind was pre-occupied with the problems which upset the mind of Abdoh as well. It was about the possibility of a solution which meant that the Muslims should be able to deal with the political economic and social problems of the day without ignoring or violating the principles of Islam. He, therefore, paid due attention to the matters like 'Endeavour' (Ijtehaad), Congregation' (Ijma), etc. To him 'endeavour' was infact the motor which put the Islamic machine in motion.

Contrary to the most of those who received training and education in Enrope, Iqbal is a spiritualist in the sense that his thoughts have attained strength from metaphysical and mystic dimensions. He attaches much importance to the attainments of mind and spirit, meditation, penance, self-analysis and evaluation and all that is termed introspection in modern terminology and which is almost negativated now. In his work 'Reconstruction of Religious Thought', he has raised these questions. He considers reconstruction of religious thought as futile if it is not accompanied by the revival of Islamic spiritualism. Iqbal was not only a thinker, but also a man of action believing in practical struggle. He rose

1. Ehya'ye *Fekr-e deeni, pp. 204.*

against colonialism and this is proved by the fact that he was one of the founders of the Islamic state of Pakistan.

Another merit which goes to the credit of Iqbal is that he was a powerful poet. He placed this intellectual potential at the service of the aims of Islam. Kawaakebee has ranked him with Kameet Asadi, Hessan ibn Saabit Ansari and Dabel ibn Ali Khazaai. His revolutionary poems in Urdu have been translated into Arabic and Persian without loosing their epic and emotional appeal.

Though a follower of the Sunni faith, Iqbal has deep attachment to the Prophet and the members of his house. In Persian, he has composed revolutionary and educative verses in the praise of the Prophet and his house and the like of such pure and passionate verses is not to be found even in the entire Persian poetry of the Shias. However, poetry was not the objective of Iqbal. It was used by him only as a means to awaken the Muslim community.

The substance of Iqbal's philosophy is 'self-realization'. He was of the opinion that the Islam of the East had lost its real identity which is the spirit of Islam and this needs to be regained. He states that a person finds his personality shattered or lost. He is far removed from himself and becomes a stranger to his own self. He yields his place to something other than himself and in the words of Maulana Rumi to whom Iqbal is deeply attached and whose influence has been of paramount importance in the development of his ideology of life, "he builds his house on the land of other people and instead of attending to his own work, he perform the work of others". Iqbal said that the society was similar to an individual, having its spirit and its personality. Like an

individual, the society is liable to receive shocks and jolts to its personality and it is just possible that as a result, it might lose its identity. It loses faith in itself as well as the sense of respect and the faculty of its self and crumbles to earth Iqbal believes that as a result of its intercourse with the western culture and civilization, the Islamic society is confronted with disease and decay at present. It is about to lose its identity. The prime elements of this society and the main factors of the spirit of Islam and Islamic civilization are 'self' and self-realization'. The foremost task to which the reformers must attend is revival of faith and belief of this society in its true 'self' or the true Islamic culture and spirit. This in short is the essence of Iqbal's philosophy of 'self'.

He has constantly endeavoured to help the Muslims recollect the greatness, culture abilities and capacities of their community. In his writings, speeches and addresses the strain was on this reappraisal of the past glory of Islam. He emphasised the return to its ideology of 'the faithful' in Islam This is the reason why Iqbal pulls the great personalities of Islam out of the morass of history and re-introduces them to the community. The Islamic society is, therefore, under a debt of gratitude to him.

Iqbal's thoughts and activities of a reform in Islamic society did, to some extent, transcend his native land. But he could not reach the limits to which Sayyid Jamal extended his mission in the Islamic world. Consequently, the impact of Iqbal's mission is limited in comparison to that of the Sayyid.

But on two counts Iqbal becomes questionable. First that he was not deeply acquainted with the Islamic culture.

In western terminology, he is indeed a philosopher but he is not well-informed about Islamic philosophy. On the vital questions of metaphysics like the philosophical reasons for the proof of the 'necessary' and pre-discovery, knowledge etc. Iqbal does not seem to be clear. His philosophy ends up with the 'last of religions' instead of 'the last of the prophets' which is a self-contradiction and also indicative of his being un-informed about the Islamic philosophy In other Islamic sciences too, his study is not deep. He is highly perceptive and his soul is an Indian and a mystic soul. Aboveall is deeply attached to Maulana Rumi. But he does not place Islamic spiritualism on the highest pedestal for he is an alien to the deepest recesses of Islamic spirituality.

Another score on which Iqbal's philosophy may come under criticism is that like Sayyid Jamal, he did not go on extensive travels in Islamic countries and as such he cannot claim to have acquired personal knowledge of the conditions, trends and movements in those countries. He has, therefore, defaulted at many places, in his evaluation of some of the leading personalities in Islamic world and also in the assessment of some of the colonial activities set afoot. In his work entitled "Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam", Iqbal states that the movement of the Wahhaabis in Hejaz, Bahaais in Iran and that of Ata Turk in Turkey were reformatory and Islamic in nature and content. He has also in his verses, expressed his appreciation of some of the uniformed dictators in Islamic countries. These defaults of a sincere Muslim reformer like Iqbal cannot be overlooked.

In modern Turkey also, there have appeared a few persons who claimed to be the reformers. In his often quoted

book, Iqbal has repeatedly reproduced the views of a poet named Zia but the fact is that he is an extremist and inspite of himself being a man of broad vision, Iqbal would not be prepared to subscribe to those views.

The Shia Reformative Movements

So far we have dealt with the movements in the Sunni world. True that Sayyid Jamal was an Iranian and a Shia by faith, but the story of the reformative movements traced hitherto inclusive of Sayyid, is in respect of the Sunni missions. But the story of movements in the Shia world has a different setting and environment. In the Shia world, much less has been said about reformation and the programme of reformation or the simple question "What should be done" But against this, what has had a deep and wide concern for the Shias, was the movement against absolutism and colonialism. In the history of Sunni world, we do not come across movements like the anti-tobacco movement led by the religious leaders in Iran as a result of which monopolisation was cancelled and external colonisation and internal absolutism were dealt a severe blow. There was no movement like the uprising in Iraq which liberated that country from the yoke of British colonization. There was no movement like that of constitutionalism against the autocratic regime in Iran resulting in the establishment of constitutionalism. And lastly there has been no movement in the Sunni world like the one which is led by the religious leaders in Iran today.

All of these movements were carried out under the guidance of the Shia orthodoxy, which had drawn the plan of reform and its mode of implementation. The tobacco move-

ment was initiated by the Iranian divines and under the guidance of Mirza Hasan Shirazi it was led on to complete success. The Iraqi revolt was led by the divines of that country with Mohammad Taqi Shirazi at its head. It is very instructive and surprising that a saintly and introspective person like Mohammad Taqi Shirazi should, all of a sudden come off as a fighter as if his whole life had been spent in struggle and in fighting a religious war. The Iranian constitutional movement was initiated at first by Mohammad Kazem Khorsaani and Shiekh Abdollah Mazandaraani at Najaf and later on was joined by two top religious personalities from Teheran namely Sayyid Abdollah Behbahaani and Sayyid Mohammad Tabatabaai.

In the Sunni world the movements like those mentioned above undertaken by the religious reformers and ecclessiastical chiefs did not take place nor did there occur an uprising like that of Isfahan, Tabriz and Mashed. In the movement of Mashed, it was Husain Ghumi, the leading Shia divine who played the main role.

The question arises why have the Sunni religious leader been unable to carry on a movement although they have vigorously talked of reformation and struggle against colonialism and exploitation ? Why against this situation, has the Shia orthodoxy initiated and successfully led great revolutions but have seldom cared to think of the prevailing ills, to opine on the ills, to suggest the remedial measures and to enter into a discussion on the political philosophy of Islam.

This aspect has to be carefully examined in the systems of Shia and Sunni orthodoxy. The Sunni ecclesiastical system

is of the fashion that it becomes farcical in the hands of its rulers whom it introduces as the supreme to issue commands. If a person of the stature of Abdoh wants to obtain the position of religious justicier, he must get the order ratified by Khadiv Abbas. Again for instance the high position of the chancellor of the Al-Azhar University or the post of the Chief Justicier of Islamic Laws can be conferred upon the exalted personage and reformer like Shiekh Mohammad Shaltut only when a political and military figure like Jamal Abdun Naser confirms the order. Thus we find that the Sunni ecclesiastical institution as an aligned system is not strong enough to rise against its counterfoil and win over to its side the masses of the people.

But the Shia ecclesiastical order is an independent institution, drawing strength (from spiritual point of view) from God alone and from social point of view from the power of the masses. It will be, therefore, noted that the whole institution has, during the long course of its history, emerged as a rival force to the oppressors of their age. It has already been said that in the Islamic countries with the Sunni majority of population, Sayyid Jamal approached the masses of the people but in Iran where the majority is of the Shias, he approached the religious leaders. In Sunni countries he wanted the masses to be galvanised into action, but in Shia countries, he expected the religious leaders (Ulama) to initiate the revolution. This is how the Shia church has been independent of the institution of the ruling authorities. It is from this phenomena that the Shia church has had the potential of bringing about a revolution whereas the Sunni church did not enjoy that strength. The Shia divinity has, in practice, rejected the

thesis of Karl Marx that the triangle of religion, government and the capital has been throughout the course of history, interactive and the factors have been in collusion with one another; that they have shaped a class against the masses and that the three factors mentioned above are the result of self-estrangement of the people.

However from the point of philosophy and the plan of reformation, there have appeared personalities in the Shia world who had original ideas to offer. In this connection, mention may be made of the distinguished persons like Ayatollah Buroojerdi Shiekh Mohammad Husain Kaashif-ul Ghata, Mohsin Amuli, Sayyid Sharaf-ud Din Amuli and above all Allama Naini It is only befitting that the interested persons should attempt at an analysis and evaluation of the reformatory ideas of these persons notwithstanding the fact that they are restricted to their particular field.

Iranian Islamic Movement

Scholars and knowledgeable persons in contemporary history concede that in the second half of our century in almost all or at least in a large number of Islamic countries Islamic movements have been in the offing openly or secretly. These are practically directed against despotism, capitalist colonialism or materialistic ideologies subscribing to colonialism in its new shape. Experts on political affairs acknowledge that after having passed through a period of mental crisis the Muslims are once again struggling to re-establish their 'Islamic identity' against the challenges of capitalist West and the communist East. But in no Islamic country has this type of movement gained as much of depth and extent as in Iran

since the year 1960. Nor is there a parallel to the proportions which the Iranian movement has obtained. It, therefore, becomes unavoidable to analysis this remarkably significant event of history.

Now that our people are deeply involved in the movement, it does not make them oblivious of an analysis of the nature and content of themovement itself. An uprising which has already gained momentum, demands that it should be fully analysed and examined for the benefit of the people who are deeply involved in it till the final aim is achieved. At the same time perhaps such analysis may not be as much a necessity for one outside the pale of affairs.

At a time when the movement is in full swing the situation may be compared to a ground under a whirling column of dust and storm making it impossible for our lenses to take a snap. A picture or any picture can be drawn only when the storm subsides and the prospect offers some definite outline. In short, an analysis of this event, for those who are actively involved in it and also for those in future who would like to judge of it is a matter of everlasting importance. The issue may be approached on these lines :

1. The nature of the movement.
2. The objective of the movement.
3. The perils involved.

The Nature

Like all natural occurences, social and political events also tend to differ from one another in their behaviours. All historical movements cannot be considered identical in their

nature. The nature of Islamic movement is in no case similar to the French revolution or to the great October revolution of Russia.

Determination of the nature of a movement is possible in more than one way. For instance the people and the groups who are moving the wheels of a movement can be the agency to determine it as also the causes and the circumstances helping to prepare the ground for it. Also the means which the movement adopts to achieve its objective, too, could be a determining factor. Lastly the call which infuses spirit, in the movement and gives it strength and momentum can also help in a determination process.

The current Iranian movement is not restricted to any particular class or trade union. It is not only a labour, an agrarian, a student, an intellectual or a bourgeois movement. Within its ambit fall one and all in Iran, the rich and the poor, the man and the woman, the school boy and the scholar, the warehouse man and the factory labourer, the artisan and the peasant, the clergy and the teacher, the literate and the illiterate, one and all. An announcement made by the preceptor of the highest station guiding the movement is received in the length and breadth of the country with equal enthusiasm by all classes of the people. The call reverberates with as much din in villages as in the cities. It has as much impact on the masses in remote parts of Khorasan and Azerbaijan as on the Iranian students in the distant cities of Europe and the United States. It has galvanized into as much action the oppressed and the victimized as the unaffected one. The unexploited has developed as much hatred against exploitation as the exploited underr its spell.

This movement is one of the glaring historical proofs hich falsifies the concept of materialistic interpretation of istory and that of the dialetics of materialism according to hich economy is recognised as the corner stone of social tructure and a social movement is considered a reflection of lass struggle. The materialists' belief that all roads end up ith the fundamental requirement, i.e, food, does not hold ater in the present context.

The present movement is like the type of movements which the prophets have led in the course of uman history and which have issued forth from a 'divine elf-realization' or 'realizing the God'. The roots of divine elf-realization are embedded in the depths of human nature. t emanates from the sub-conscious. When an oracle is delivered which awakens the instinctive consciousness in a man egarding his origin and his roots, regarding the city and the ountry wherefrom he comes so much so that he feels a trange and mysterious attachment in himself, this attachment s a matter of course, results ultimately in drawing him earer to God. Attachment with God, the most valuable of ttachments, carries with it the virtues like beauty, equitable ustice, equality, forgiveness, sacrifice, dedication and the urge or the good of others.

The sentiment of seeking the God and worshipping him emains hidden in every human heart. The prophets awaken his sentiment in human beings so that they should aspire for he lofty and discard the lowly in all forms and figures. It ives the man an idea that he should be a supporter of truth nd righteousness for the bare reason that it is true and right nd not because that his benefit lies in it. Notwithstanding

the loss or the gain involved, virtues like justice, equality truth and righteousness emerge involuntarily as the object and the aim because these are divinely values and not merely instruments to achieve success in life's conflicts.

Once a man achieves divine awakening in himself and higher human values become to him his objectives, he ceases to be a friend or a foe for the mere fact of it. He becomes the upholder of justice not the justicier. He becomes the enemy of oppression and not the oppressor. His protagonism and antagonism to justice and oppression respectively do not emanate from his psychological and personal constraints but from a principle and an ideology.

The awakened Islamic conscience of our society has induced it to search for Islamic values. This is the conscience of the cumulative enthusiams of all classes of people, including perhaps some of the hereby dissident groups which has galvanized them into one concerted upsurge.

The roots of this movement shall have to be traced in the events that occured during the last half century in our country and the way these events came into conflict with the Islamic spirit of our society.

It is evident that during the last half century, there have been events which adopted a diametrically opposite direction as far as the nobler objectives of Islam were concerned and which aimed at nullifying the aspirations of the well-meaning reformers for the last one century. This state of affairs could not continue for long without reaction.

What happened in Iran during the last half century may be summed up as under :

1. Absolute and barbaric despotism.

2. Denial of freedom of every kind.
3. A new type of colonialism meaning an invisible and dangerous colonialism embracing political, economic and cultural aspects of life.
4. Maintaining distance between religion and politics. Rather divorcing politics of religion.
5. An attempt at leading Iran back to the age of ignorance of pre-Islamic days. Also the attempt of reviving the pre-Islamic culture of Iran—the Magian cultnre—as is manifest from the change of Hijri era to the Magian era.
6. Effecting a change and corrupting the rich Islamic culture and replacing it by the ambiguons Iranian culture.
7. Gruesome killing of Iranian Muslims, imprisonment and torture of the alleged political prisoners.
8. Ever increasing descrimination and cleavage among the classes'society'of the despite the so-called reforms.
9. Domination of non-Muslim elements over the Muslim elements in the government and other institutions.
10. Flagrant violation of Islamic laws either directly or by perpetrating corruption in the cultural and social life of the people.
11. Propaganda against the Persian literature (which has always been the protector and upholder of Islamic spirit) under the pretext of purifying the Persian language of foreign terminology.

12. Severing relations with Islamic countries and flirtin with non Islamic and obviously with anti-Islami countries like Israel.

This state of affairs having persisted for about half century injured the religious conscience of our society an resulted in an explosive crisis.

On the other hand, the events on the international scen exposed the false political propaganda of both the libera West and the socialist East. The hope which the intellegentsi had been nursing in one or the other hemisphere, change into disappointment.

At the same time during the last years or a little more the Islamic writers, scholars and critics succeeded to som extent in introducing the attractive and useful teachings o Islam to the present generation.

The Iranian ecclesiasts, brave and relentless, had bee suffering privations in the past and had been waiting for proper opportunity to rise in revolt. The worn-out generatio which had been crushed under the wheels of repression for th last fifty years, harangued by the pro-West or the pro-Eas propagandists, reciprocated with one voice and in unison t the relieving call of Islamic teachings. From these sources the Islamic movement of Iran received succour.

The slogan of Islamic revolution has engulfed the entir country, from the centre to the farthest nook. The peopl living in the cities, towns and in remotest villages were no briefed on particular lines. No slogans were deliberately coined to suit the purpose. It was from the deep recesses o

heir Islamic conscience that the people received the intuition o coin the slogans. Is there a single slogan among the nume-ous ones coined and made current by the masses which could e deemed non-religious ? No. The reason is that the move-ment was initiated by religion itself. Its supporters were the en holding religious authority.

he Various Roles of the Orthodoxy in bringing bout the Revolution :

The Shia divines have performed various roles in bringing bout this pious Islamic revolution. Their efforts have, at ast, culminated in success.

Some of the divines embarked on an open struggle gainst the regime of the Shah. They gave the cry for revolt nd infused the masses with the spirit of anti-Shah upsurge. As a a result they had to suffer privations like extirpation, ncarceration, torture and martyrdom. Some persisted with he struggle openly as well as secretly mobalising mass opinion nd at times, they had to seal their lips for the sake of xpediency.

There were some of the fighters who apparently desisted rom making utterances and did not betray any sign of eing the die-hards. Their attitude has been, unfortunately misunderstood by a number of short-sighted persons as some-hing anti-revolution. But the truth is that they were among he most zealous, the most sincere and the most humane of he revolutionaries. Their task was to infiltrate into the arious sections of the society; choose the persons with capa-ity and infuse in them the spirit of revolution. For this

purpose, the first thing was to strengthen in them the fai
and belief; to establish in their minds the fact that their du
was divine and that they had to lay their lives in the path
God. Their role was to expose the fact that the regime
the Shah was an anti-Islamic regime and if allowed to conti
nue as it did, the true Islam would appear in the shape of t
Pahlavi Islam. Hence a struggle against such a regime w
the will of God and one meeting death in the struggle wou
be a martyre. It hardly needs to be emphasised what sing
lar role those people performed in this great struggle who h
been indoctrinated by the divines. In the course of th
struggle, these persons, like their preceptors, trained a
educated another generation, in a wider field of activi
They infiltrated into all such places as were not attended
the divines in person and carried on the propagan
incognito

Struggle for the Sake of God or the World ?

One who joins a struggle with the objective to achie
material gains and wordly position without any realisati
of duty towards God and religion, cannot be supposed to
sincere to the movement. If he is offered material benefits
a worldly position, he will readily accept it and will wi
draw from the struggle. He had joined the struggle for t
purpose otherwise he would not. We have seen that some
those materialists ceased to persist with their opposition to t
regime of the Shah when they received material benefits a
finally succumbed to the position of servitude to the absol
tism of the regime.

But he who reckons his participation in the revolutionary struggle as a divine and religious duty is least concerned when, in the course of struggle, his material position and property are lost altogether. He continues with the struggle even when he is conscious of the fact that his life is in peril. He does not, therefore, attach much significance to a life which ultimately must come to an end. But an honourable death, death for the religious cause, would bestow upon him the everlasting life. When the danger of definite death is apparent in the battle field, the faithful soldier does not yield to fear and anxiety. He smiles at the death for he is sure to achieve one of the two objectives—to liquidate his enemy or to get killed. It is but evident that the death of such a fighter in itself has to play an effective role in liquidating the enemy. One of the main factors contributing to the downfall of the regime of the Shah was the bloodshed and sacrifices made by the selfless people.

But the worldly and the divinely, when confronted with death, surrenders himself to great fear which kills him quicker than death itself. His struggle was for material possession which he failed to attain. Not only that. Even his life slips out of his hands. And what is his destination ? Its permanent obscurity and infamy. Since silence, cry and struggle of the Shia order of divines are for the performance of religious duty emanating from firm faith in God, hence there support and solidarity with the fighters for liberation whom they themselves trained and educated. This then is the secret of the success of the Shia order in the revolutions, movements and struggles. Presently the topic that the strength and influence of religious leadership in Iran and the

sacrifices of the patriotic Iranians in the path of religion of such extraordinary effectiveness as to dislodge any power confronts, is being discussed in international circles wi interest and with wonder.

The orthodoxy had no material equipment. It succeed in tumbling down the regime of the Shah with its spirit weapons, a regime which was equipped with the ultra-mode arms and was supported by the strongest of the existi powers, the U.S.A. This is, in itself a caution to the co nialists who might be contemplating colonial designs agai Iran. Let them know that the Shia religious order is t world's strongest force capable of suppressing any antag nistic force and scuttling any nefarious design. It will nev permit the super powers to interfere in the destiny of Iran.

The Objective

What is the objective pursued by the movement and wh does it want ? Does it aim at democracy ? Does it want liquidate colonialism from our country ? Does it rise defend what is called in modern terminology as hum rights ? Does it want to do away with discrimination, equality ? Does it want to uproot oppression ? Does want to undo materialism and so forth and so on.

In view of the nature of the movement and its roots already brought under consideration and also in view of statements and announcements given out by the leaders of movement, what one may gather as an answer to these qu tions is "Yes" as well as "No".

'Yes' because all the objectives mentioned above form

very crux of it. And 'No' because the movement is not limited to only these or any one of these objectives. An Islamic movement cannot be, from the point of its objective, remain a restricted affair, because Islam, in its very nature, is 'an indivisible whole' and with the realization of any of the objectives set before it, its role does not cease to be.

However, it does not mean that from tactical point of view, a particular set of objectives does not enjoy priority over another set and that the stages of realization of these objectives are not needed to be taken into consideration. Did not Islam pass through a tactical evolution ? Today the movement is passing through the stage of rejection and disregard (of the ruling authority) and of striking hard at despotism and colonialism. Having emerged victorious out of this struggle, it shall address itself to stability and reconstruction and other objectives shall then demand its attention.

In the beginning of this essay, we have mentioned the words of Ali about the objectives of reform as are to be found in the work "*Nehaj-ul Balageh*". We have also said that identical concepts regarding a reform were made known by his son, Imam Husain during the times of *Moawiyyeh* and in presence of a distinguished Islamic gathering on the eve of the holy pilgrimage. These sum up the core of the philosophy of reformation in Islam. He has said it in four sentences :

1. "The effaced signs on the path leading to God be reinstated " It refers to the original principles of Islam and return to those very principles. Innovations be done away with and their place be filled

by true and original customs. In other words it means reform in the very thought, the very conscience and the very spirit of Islam.

2. Fundamental, actual and far-reaching reforms which would invite the attention of every observer and would be carrying in them seeds of welfare for the people at large, in urban and in rural areas and the society as a whole be brought about. It means the most radical reforms in the living conditions of the masses of the people.
3. God's humanity under victimisation be given security against the oppressor. The tyranny of the oppressor be eliminated. It means reform in the social relations of human beings.
4. God's commands hitherto suspended and the Islamic laws hitherto ignored he revived so as to establish their supremacy in the social life of the people.

Any reformer who succeeds in activising the above mentioned four fundaments; who is able to direct the attention of the minds towards the true Islam; who is able to banish corrupt practices and superficialities from the lives of the people; who can satisfacrorily bring order in the civic life by providing, among other things, the basic necessities of food, shelter, medical aid and education; who can help establish human relationship on the basis of equality, fraternity and sense of good neighbourliness and finally who can give the society a truly Islamic cadre of administrators to lay down rules and regulations for the conduct of puritanic administration shall have, in fact, achieved the maximum success as a reformer.

Leadership

No movement can be led successfully without the leadership. Eut who should be the leader or the group of leaders when the movement is an Islamic one in its nature and when its objective are exclusive Islamic ?

Evidently the leadership should, in the first place, fulfil the general conditions of the task before it. Then the leaders must be deeply Islamic, fully conversant with the ethical, social, political and spiritual philosophy of Islam. They must have the knowledge of Islam's universal vision, its insight about emperical matters like the creation, the origin, the creator of universe, the need for creation of the universe etc. They must have the deep knowledge of Islam's views and stipulations on man and his society. It is of great importance that the leaders must have a clear picture of Islamic ideology of man's relations with his society; his manner and method of framing the social order; his abilities of defending and pursuing certain things and resisting others; his ultimate objectives and the means of attaining those objectives etc.

It is obvious that only such persons can lead as have been brought up under the puritanic Islamic culture having perfectly mastered the branches of religious learning and Islamic sciençes, the Kor'an, tradition, jurisprudence etc. It is, therefore, only the ecclesiasts who qualify for the leadership of such a movement.

About a year and eight months back, (the night of Moharram, 12, 1396 H), I was invited to a gathering attended by some Muslim ladies and gentlemen. I had not anticipated a gathering of more than half a dozen of close associates and

friends. A couple of persons well learned in Islamic sciences were also present in that gathering. Today some of them live away from of Iran, some have been exiled and some others are dead.

It being an exclusively Muslim gathering and the audience deeply interested in Islamic matters of religion, the learned men, including myself, were requested to speak on matters which could be beneficial to the listners.

I was slightly exercised on the question as to what should be the subject of my address. It was more so because all that would be said was to be tape-recorded and later to be released for circulation among the students.[1] Incidentally some one among the audience put me a question which became the subject matter of my address. The substance of the question put to me by this gentleman was : 'People should be delivered from the evils of these sciences (meaning the Islamic sciences)'. I would like to recount what I said in this connection in that meeting for I feel it has relevance to the subject under discussion.

Aristotle has a comment on philosophy, 'If you want to be a philosopher, you must philosophise and if you do not want to be a philosopher, still you must philosophise.' By this, I said, Aristotle meant, that either philosophy is something right, and as such it should be endorsed or it is something wrong and as such it should be rejected. If it is right and worth to be pursued then one must become a philosopher

(1) *It is learnt that these lectures have been given wide circulation but whether any change has been made in the text is not known.*

and philosophy should be supported by something like philosophising. But if it is not wanted and has to be discarded, even then one should become a philosopher to denounce philosophy. It, therefore, follows that in any case one should become a philosopher and in the process, it should be understood that denial of philosophy is in itself a kind of philosophy. Thus those who think that having acquired a few branches of knowledge without co-relating them to philosophical speculations, should deny and denounce philosophy are misled to a dangerous extent.

Let me not, for a while, take into consideration that in the course of over a thousand years, the Muslim scholars have or have not rendered service to human culture, sciences, civilization, mathematics, natural sciences, humanities, philosophy, law, literature etc. though as a matter of fact they have. But if one is to accept our philosophy, our gnosticism our mysticism, our ethics, philosophy of life and scholistic system, our science of commentary, our tradition, our literature and our code of law, one must, therefore, become a jurisprudent, or a philosopher, or an gnostic or mystic or tc. But if one is to repudiate these, still one must learn these sciences, understand them, assimilate them and then reject them if one likes. It is only farcical that a person totally uninformed about the science of philosophy or jurisprudence rejects a book on these sciences on the very look of it.

Elucidating my point, I said that at the moment we are in the thick of an upsurge. A social upsurge must be assured of the backing of intellectual and cultural movements. Otherwise it is driven to a situation where cultural content establishes its domination, and sucking it in, alters it course

totally. We have already witnessed that some people were ignorant of the wealth of Islamic culture and as a result of this discrepancy, they became an easy prey to alien cultures. But on the other hand any Islamic cultural movement purporting to be the mainstay of our social movement, ought to draw inspiration from our ancient culture and not from alien cultures. It will not be sufficient for our movement to be directed along the Islamic path if we think of borrowing shreds from other cultures, like Marxism, Existentialism and the rest and then suggest their Islamic adaptation. It, herefore, follows that we must extract our guide-lines from purely Islamic, philosophy of ethics, history, politics, economics, religion and metaphysics which are available in the text of Islamic teachings.

In order to emphasise the task of leadership, I made the assertion that even today we needed the eminent scholars like Khwaja Naseer-ud Din Tusi, Abu Ali Seena, Mulla Sadra, Shiekh Ansaari, Shiekh Bahaai, Mohaghegh Hilli and others. But I made the point that we do not need the scholars mentioned above of their respective eras, but of modern and of contemporary times with all the qualities and cultural attributes they enjoyed.

I made my questioner understand that a number of young men with a fervent faith, now on the verge of completing their education in universities and about to be conferred the degrees have ventured to seek my consultation regarding their desire to study Islamic sciences. Some of them are so eager as to discontinne their university education and take up the study of ancient learnings. But I dissuaded them from leaving their university education half way and advised them to take

up the desired line after the completion of their present courses of study. In fact I suggested that they should distribute their time in a way that some of it is devoted to the pursuit of the branch of study of their specialization and the rest to the study of the branches of religious learning because I would not like them to be financially dependent on public funds.

This indicates a healthy trend among our youth, the trend that some rapport is to be established between the old and the new sciences and the students who have expressed such a desire, in fact, could become a link in the chain. This is bound to enrich the valuable Islamic culture.

Summing up the ideas which I put forth in that assembly, it may be safely concluded that it is the rich and the great Islamic culture which can and should become the mainstay of of a movement and that it is the body of the Islamic scholars and specialists in this fabulous culture and alive to the needs of the times who can and should pioneer the movement.

A few days ago, a friend handed me a book containing an article under the caption "dar ravish" (on method) written by an unknown friend reported to be a sincere Muslim living in Europe at present. The article discusses critically the proposition of "Leadership in conventional terminology".

The writer initiates the discussion by taking up the issues like "motion", "base" and "change of motion into base" elucidating the nature of change in motions and movements so as to reappear in systems and in forms. He also deals with the change of 'dynamic matter' into 'stagnant matter'. If our social forces rise like wave after wave and get absorbed,

it is because of change of motion into base. It is so because of the need to give a form to thought and action. Hence the first task before us is to demolish the form or the forms. Then follows the assumption that Islam is the religion of the youth and the youth demolishes the forms. By inference, we may say that Islam is the religion which breaks the form. This is followed by a discussion on the question of 'conventional leadership' which is presently under our discussion.

This unknown writer will not, I am sure, hesitate to permit us to indulge in an academic evaluation of his views. At the same time, we shall welcome to be apprised of the weakness of our argument, if any.

In the first place, our friend imagines that a pre-requisite of motion and movement is non-supposition of stability. But if motion is bereft of stability, the result is only chaos and disorder and not perfection. Kor'an speaks of motion, dynamism and movement towards perfection as also that of march on the right path. Though one is to move on the right path, but what about the right path itself? Does the right path observe dynamism? Is it a path still proceeding onwards or is it the caretaker of the path of righteousness and of those who adopt it lest they are deviated? Is it a sin of the conventional leadership that it is the protector of culture, the culture of perfection and movement along the right path? Iqbal has well said that life is not just a change and a simple change. It has, within itself, everlasting and eternal elements. He further says that Islam demands loyalty to God and not to a despotic government. God is the final spiritual foundation of every life. Hence loyalty to God means practical

loyalty to his like nature. A society constituted of this realistic approach, ought to unreveal the cohesion between the eternal and the changing concepts in its life. For the organisation of its social life, it must have eternal principles at its disposal, for whatever is eternal and everlasting in this world of permanent change, provides a firm ground for us to stand upon.

Our friends confuse the firm with the static. A fair knowledge of Islamic culture could bring home to them that change without permanence and the changed object with firmness are impossible propositions. Every moving object and at least in the condition under which the change is effected in place and in stage, continues its movement in the recognised and pre-determined orbit meaning the orbit which is firm to its motion. Whatever passes before it, that is the stage and not the orbit or the passage.

If our friend recognises the historical existence for every event including the principles, facts, schools of thought ideologies and cultures (every culture with every root) then what does he ask from the Islam of a thousand and four hundred years of age which he defends with all his strength?

Perhaps it may be said that Islam itself is a motion and an upsurge continuing its existence and not its foundation and system. Our answer is that Islam is neither a motion nor one that moves. It is the Islamic society which is in a motion in the orbit of Islam and the path of righteousness propounded by Islam. Or at least, it is the Islamic Society which must be in a motion and not Islam.

It does happen sometimes that an event of great turm and a social upsurge loses its spirit and what remain of are only some superficialities. Ali has said that Islam in t hands of the Omayyids shall resemble a vessel with an u turned bottom letting its contents spill and leaving nothi but the vessel in the hands of its holder. This social phen mena may be called the transfer of motion into base. W give an example to elucidate it.

The traditional mourning on the martyrdom of Ima Husain as goes to this day, is the transfer of motion in base. About this mourning goes the saying that one wh weeps or makes others weep or puts up an appearance simil to the one who sheds tears deserves the paradise. Much val has been attached to it. The real philosophy behind t mourning had been an expression of acute sentiments again the Yarids, Ibn Yazeed and in favour of Husains. Husai therefore, assumes the character of a school in a certain tim He becomes a symbol of the method and style of a defini society and at the same time a repudiator of another defini method and style. Shedding a single tear in his name i in truth, tantamount to self-sacrifice in a way. In the harde of conditions created by Yazid and his host, to join Husain bloc, to give unconcealed expression of shedding tears for th martyrs, announcing allegiance to the group of the righteo and declaration of war with the untrue, is definitely, a kind o self-sacrifice. This shows that the mourning for Husain, the so of Ali, is in fact a motion, an, upsurge and a social struggle.

But, with the passage of time this philosophy and th spirit came to be forgotten. The vessel came to be emptie

of its contents till the whole thing was reduced to a mere formality under which people gathered together to participate in the mourning. Their deliberations give no indication that it is meant to give a definite social direction. From social point of view, it can be hardly counted a productive activity. It is a simple function to acquire virtue and is performed purely on the basis of religious obligations without having anything to do with the Husainis of contemporary times or with the Yezids and Obedollahs of respective times. It is here that motion has been transferred into the base or the habit. This then is the emptying of the vessel. Under these circumstances, even if Yazeed bin Moawiya himself rises from the grave, he shall gladly participate in the mourning nay shall arrange the biggest group of mourners. Of what avail would be shedding profuse tears in such functions ?

I have talked extensively on this subject in the number of assemblies. But our question to the dear friend remains, "Is our culture, which incidentally is protected by our orthodox church, anything like this ? Are the people like Sayyid Jamaal Mudarris, Ayatollah Khomeini and Taleghaani the protagonists of these traditions and formalities ?

Then we ask who among the leaders has been able to create such an agitation and stir among the people as the traditional leadership has been able to do ? Has any non-traditional leader been able to galvanise even one tenth of the people into action during the last ten years ?

There are others who have expressed their belief in the need of transfer of leadership of Islamic movement from the church to the intellectuals. They argue that Iranian society

is essentially a theocratic society and from the point of
social age, may be compared to the Europe of 15th or 16
century when only religious slogans moved the mass
of the people. On the other hand the people
Iran are Muslims of Shia faith, which in turn is
revolutionary and a dynamic religion. The third argume
is that there exists in every society a special group of intelle
tuals with ample human conscience and an understanding
the problems that confront the man today. They are t
only persons capable of bearing the burden of liberation
their society. The intellectuals in Iranian society today wou
not be justified in drawing a comparison between the Iran
today and the Europe of today. It would be unrealistic
offer the same by the European thinkers like Russell a
Sartre for that continent. In the first place, it is to be co
ceded that Iranian society today can be placed only at a lev
of the Europe of 15th or 16th century. Further the differen
between Islam and Christianity has to be made clear. Isla
in general and Shiaism in particular is a religion of mov
ment, revolution, bloodshed, freedom, struggle and marty
dom. The Iranian intellectuals, under the illusion that religi
has no role to play in the European society, are led to belie
that in Iran too, it has outlived its utility, forgetting th
neither Iran is Europe nor is Islam Christianity. Irani
intellectual class would be in an advantage to draw the ener
from this great storehouse of revolution and upsurge for t
liberation of the people. But of course, it carries certa
conditions with it. The pre-requisite, according to the
is that the present upholders and protectors of religion shou
be disarmed.

To these enlightened persons, I might say that in

first place, Islam is a reality and not simple prudence. It is an object and not the means. Thus only those can derive benefit from this source-energy who look upon Islam as a reality and an object and not mere prudence or a means. Islam is not an instrument made use of in the 16th century and abandoned to its fate in the conditions prevailing in 20th century. It is the right path for the humanity. A civilized man is as much in need of its guidance as the semi-barbarian. To a progressive man, it brings as much prosperity and liberty as to the primitive man. It would be tantamount to ignorance about Islam to construe of it as a religion of prudence or of temporary utility in the context of contemporary social and international situations and exigencies. We would, therefore, make an appeal to these intellectuals to adopt a realistic approach to the whole matter.

If, however, Islam is an instrument and a means useful and utilitarian, then of course it is the real and the true Islam and not anything to which the name of Islam has been affixed. If specialization is needed to benefit from every instrument and tool, how is it that no specialisation is needed in the case of Islam which, according to them, should also be considered a tool or a means. Can you suppose that any so-called intellectual, who breakfasts with a certain professor has, by the share virtue of having spent a few minutes at the breakfast table, acquired the knowledge to differentiate the true Islam from the spurious one and then conduct it in the service of the society ?

Thirdly I must be excused to express that these are only the belated intellectuals in the sense that the old guards of

this vast source of energy and motion have amply proved their competency of drawing immense benefits from it. As such, they would not allow anybody the opportunity to disarm them.

We would, therefore, advise these dear intellectuals to forget about the dreams of "transfer of power" and "disarming" and address themselves to other services of the humanity at large. Let Islam, Islamic culture and the sources of dynamism and energy in Islam be left to the care of the procurators of Islam who have been brought up in that atmosphere and whose voice is familiar to the people in general.

The book entitled "Eghbal, Memaar-e Tajdeed-e Banaa-e Islam", gives an analysis of the activities of Sayyid Jamal and dealing with the strength of this solitary man to create a stir in the Islamic world says :

> How did he obtain this much strength and influence? What factors were responsible for the voice sprung from the depths of hearts and frontiers of lands? Was it anything other than the realization on the part of the Muslim nations that the call which the Sayyid gave was that of known person? It was the realization that the voice sprung from the depths of the spirit of culture and history so glorious, so vibrating and so historical. They found that it was not a strangers voice, nor an interpretation of the latest foreign stream of thinking. It was the echo of one of the voices that were raised and resounded in Hara, Mecca, Madina, Ohod, Qudsiyyeh, Jerusalem, straits of Gibralter and the Crusades. It is the same call which was given to enervate life to lead the holy wars and to seek a life of honour and strength and which resounded for long in the ears of the epic history of Islam.[1]

What has been said about Sayyid Jamal is a statement of facts. His voice came from the depth of his soul because the Sayyid himself was a product of this culture and the dimensions of his personality flourished in the atmosphere of the same culture.

Iran's Islamic movement is fortunate in having the well-informed, courageous and intrepid leadership that can feel the pulse of the times. Their sympathies go to the common man and their urge is the uplift of Islam. They have defeated dejection and despair which are the forces of evil.

There is no denial of the fact that we have had in the past the authority of retreat more wide and with larger following than the ones which are leading the movement today. But they lacked comparative popularity and influence and the invulnarable dedication of the authority which leads the movement today.

We place extraordinary value upon this selfless leadership. We honour it and we consign the story of their glorious role to the pages of history and we pray to God to grant them further strength and resolution, and crown their untiring efforts with complete success.

The names of the exalted religious authorities like those

of Ayatollah-ul Uzma-Shareeatmadaari, Ayatollah-ul Uzma Golpaygani and Ayatollah-ul Uzma Mar'ashi, who have taken effective steps towards the elevation of the world of God, are the pride of the Muslims and Islam. Their names will go down in the history of the champions and pioneers of this movement. This, in fact, is only a nominal reward which God Almighty can bless them with.

But let me remind our readers of the name of that divine of iron-will, the man with a wide vision, the man whose very name, and whose very word makes our blood boil with emotion, the dearest of the sons of Iran, the holder of the highest esteem. Ayatollah ul Uzma Khomeini—a rare gift and the choicest genious God has bestowed upon us. I feel impatient to let my pen put in writing all the benefactions, spiritual and temporal, which the writer was fortunate, enough to receive in his august presence for many years.

Obviously the number of participants in this Islamic movement, the clergy or non-clergy is by no means small. There have been persons and groups, who had been engaged in practical or theoretical activities years before the fruitful upsurge of the Islamic movement came to be witnessed. They have, without any doubt, played very concrete role in shaping the thoughts of the present generation for active participation in and conduct of the great Islamic movement. Others have helped the movement achieve its finality, its magnitude and its value by making tremendous sacrificeslike suffering imprisonment, extirpation, torture and even laying down valuable life. There are others whose names have been recorded in in the annuals of history for widening the scope of the movement and carrying it to its heights and finally for giving it a definite direction. Yet there have been some who collapsed half-way, lost their nerve or retraced their steps. Some changed the course of thier steps. Some changed the course of their march and were absorbed by other schools of thought inflicting a wound. Should the task of writing a dispassionate analytical and scholarly history of the movement be undertaken in which prejudices and conjuctures are altogether eliminated, it would make a sizeable volume. In this short discussion, we cannot address ourselves to that stupendous task. All that we pray for at the movement is the most auspicious reward and blessings of God Almighty upon those who have adopted with sincerety and dedication, the course leading to the pious objectives of the Islamic movement.

The Crisis

Movements, like so many other events are likely to face many crisis, but it is the duty of the leadership to forestall them and if these seem inevitable, the leadership must put into action the means at its disposal or the means that it ought to muster to forestall the perilous situation. Any negligence to scuttle the danger or even making the mistake of under-estimating the magnitude of the danger would render the movement only abortive or counter-productive. We would like to take into consideration some of the anticipated dangers to the movement though of course some more might escape our sight.

1. Penetration of alien ideas

Ideas from outside influence in two ways, one is through

the enemy. When a social movement reaches a stage wherefrom it is able to galvanize the whole society into action, and the process of absorption sets in, it over shadows the rest of the schools of thought which in turn work to undermine its success. The ideas that are altogether foreign to the very spirit of the movement are inducated into it so that its influence and appeal are either neutralised or minimised.

This is what happened in the early centuries of Islamic history. After its expansion and promotion on world wide scale, the opponents of Islam began their anti-Islam crusade through distortions. They issued their corrupted ideas under the lable of Islam. Zionistic, Zoroastrian and Manichean ideas, under Islamic labels come to be inducted into Islamic tradition, concepts and commentaries with a result which is not hidden from anybody. But thanks to the learned scholars of Islam who took cognizance of this situation and achieved considerable success in neutralising its effect. Their efforts continue to countreract the nefarious trends even today.

The second way of undermining Islam is through its so called friends and followers. Sometimes perhaps the followers themselves, for want of correct information about the school of thought, come under the influence of a system of alien ideas and ideologies and inadvertantly or otherwise, they reproduce the imported ideas with local colouring.

The like of this situation is to be witnessed in the course events that shaped during the early centuries of Islam. There were people who allowed the Greak philosophy, Iranian customs and Indian mysticsim influence their stream of

thought and later on introduced them to the Islamic ethos with the conception of service and not betrayal. Fortunately the ever penetrating eyes of the Islamic men of learning spotted the discrepancy and as step in counteraction They initiated critical evaluation of such thougth with the purpose of eliminating, in process, the wide range of improted ideas.

Today, while the Islamic movement in Iran has attained its heights overshadowing the other schools and 'isms', the two counter-acting situations already mentioned can also be discerned to be active side by side. There a group with definite pro-materialist proclivities. But realising that their slogan of materialism is too feeble to attract the Iranian youth to its fold, they have found the dodge in labelling their slogan with the Islamic mark. It is but natural that the Islam which enters the head of a youth with materialistic content, can only be a superficial Islam and can be dropped with ease. In another situation which poses a greater danger, we find that some of the Muslims fundamentally uninformed about the Islamic learning, and infatuated by alien schools of thought venture to write on Islamic code of ethics and set out on a propaganda compaign forgetting that what they actually propagate is the imported concept of ethics. This is not true of ethics alone but of many other branches of learning as well like history, religious philosophy, the concept of prophethood, economics, politics, Internationalism, commentaries etc.

As a responsible person and under the divine responsibility I consider it my duty to caution the great leaders of the Islamic movement, whom I hold in esteem, that penetration of foreign ideas under the seal of Islamic concepts, whether

done purposefully or otherwise, is a danger that threatens the very existence of Islam.

We are the responsible people, we have not produced sufficient literature in various aspects of Islam in current languages.[1] Had we, therefore, made available the pure and sweet waters in abundance, the people would not have contended themselves with the polluted waters.

The way to meet this exigency is to introduce the true aspects of this school of thought in the current languages. Our educational centres have been remarkably activised and they must be correctly informed of the great educational and intellectual responsibilities that devolve on their shoulders. They must intensify their activities in the field of learning and they must understand that restricting their activities to jurisprudence and fundamentals alone would not meet the requirements of the contemporary youth.

2. Extreme Revivalism

Avoidance of extremes and observance of moderation in any cause is always fraught with certain difficulties. The path of moderatism is too narrow and slight carelessness is bound to lead a man astray. In our religion, the right path has been symbolically called thinner than a hair which means extraordinary carefulness and consideration on every step along this path.

It is obvious that there are new difficulties before the human society and these demand new solutions.

(1) *To alleviate this need, Maktab-e Qur'an has been incepted in India and it is hoped that with God's grace the vacuum will be filled.*

"The Current Events" are what happen freshly and their solution is the duty of the caretakers of Islamic learning. The secret of the need of the 'theologian' in every period and pursuance of and return to the 'living theologian' arises out of it. Otherwise in the case of a series of standardized problems, there will be no difference in pursuing a living theologian against the dead one. If the religious guide and interpreter ceases to pay attention to the current problems, he shall fall in the category of the dead; The question of extremes sets in here.

There are others influenced by mobocracy whose standard is simply determined by the mob temperament. The mobs are generally backward looking and unmindful of the future. At the same time, there are some people who are seized of present problems and are also looking into the future of the society, yet unfortunately they are ungenerous towards Islam. To them the only standard is the prevailing mood and to which give the name of "Free Discovery". In tead of recognizing Islam as the touch stone to determine the true from the untrue, conversely recognize the mood and the spirit of the ruling authority as the standard of Islam. For instance they say that polygamy is the reminiscent of the age of woman-slavery and should be discarded. Full dress and the veil for woman are also treated in the same way. They argue that tenancy, partnership or lease are the hang over of feudalistic times. Thus they attribute a number of things as the remnants of bygone days stressing upon the point that Islam is a religion of intellect and discovery. The discovery and enunciation of truth should take place in such and such a way.

But it has to be borne in mind that even the standards laid down by the Sunni intellectuals like Abdoh and Iqbal for the solution of present problems like recognition of distinction between supplications and transactions or the special interpretations which they have for congregation, discovery, conference etc. and their concept of Islamic university are in no way acceptable to us who have been brought up in the progressive Islamic culture of Shia faith. The Shia sciences of Jurisprudence, Tradition, Philosophy, Commentary, Sociology are far more advanced and responsive than the Sunni sciences.

It may be true that on account of geographical and non-geographical reasons, the Sunni world has had in comparison to Shia world more knowledge of the contemporary civilization and the difficulties and problems which this civilization has created and as such it might have made more strenuous efforts to solve these difficulties. As against it, the Shias have advanced their solutions rather belatedly, but a comparison between the efforts put in by each section during some years in the past has revealed that the views of the Shia school, by its following and dedication to the 'House of the Prophet' have been fardeeper and more logical. We need not consider intellectuals like Abdoh, Iqbal, Fareed Wajdee, Sayyid Ghotb, Mohammad Ghotb, Mohammad Gharali as the final authorities.

In case, extremism which is not absent either in the Shia or the Sunni faith, in fact is nothing but attributing to Islam all that it does not stand for and denuding Islam of what truly it should have. To compromise with the times and situations, is perphaps, the biggest tragedy of a movement and it is the duty of the leadership to arrest this trend.

3. Leaving incomplete :

Unfortunately a study of the past hundred years of the history of Islamic movements reveals a glaring shortcoming in the religious leaderships that led it. No doubt the leadership persisted with its struggle to the stage of victory over the enemy but then discontinued its role thereafter with the result that the fruit of its labour fell into the hands of others and presumably in the hands of the enemy. It is analogous to a prospect under which a person sacrifices all he has to regain his land usurped by others and after having done so, chooses to sit idle in his house and let others till the land, sow the seed and reap the crop.

The Iraqi revolution culminated in success under the leadership of the Shia ecclesiastical order but the Shia church drew no profit from it whatsoever. The result is what we find today. The constitutional movement in Iran was spearheaded by religious leadership but did not continue it nor did it draw the desired benefit from it. The result was the emergence of an absolute dictator under whose regime nothing but the mere name of constitutionalism remained. Not only that the whole effort became counter-productive in the sense that there appeared a feeling among the people that a dictatorial regime was better in comparison to the constitutional one and that a constitutional regime was nothing short of a sin. Even in the case of the 'tobacco movement', it may be expressed with regret that the church construed of the end of its role with the cancellation of contract whereas in fact it could haveorganised the people towards the formation of a real Islamic state.

The Islamic movement in Iran today is in a stage of negation of the existing system. The people have risen as one mass against absolutism and colonialism. The stage of negation and rejection is always followed by a stage of positivity and construction. 'La ilah' (there is no god) is followed by illa Allah (but Allah). The stage of positivity and construction is always more difficult than the stage of negation and destruction in any movement. Today the realization the church will again leave its task half or not, has dawned upon the intelligence.

4. Sabotaging by the opportunists

A big peril which generally threatens to wreck a movement from within is sabotaging and infiltration by the opportunists. It is the primal duty of the real leaders to checkmate their influence and neutralise their efforts of causing a debacle.

Any movement, having passed successfully through the difficult initial stages, places heavier burden of its responsibilities on the shoulders of dispassionate and truly faithful workers. But once their efforts of leading the movement seem to be crowned with success, the opportunists swarm around. The more the difficulties are surmounted the more opportunists exhibit their allegiance to the movement. They persist with their sabotaging till they succeed in ousting the faithful and the devoted fighters of initial stage. This process has been so universal that now it is often said that a revolution eats up its own children. But the fact is that a revolution is not one that eats up its own children. It is the sabotaging activities of the opportunists which succeed in

liquidating those who sacrificed all they had to bring about a revolution.

Let us not go far away. Who were the persons who brought about the constitutional revolution in Iran ? Who were the persons who grabbed high positions and posts once that movement achieved success ? And what was the final result of the great effort ?

The nationalist leaders, the nationalist generals and all the champions of freedom were removed from the scene, forgotten and finally left to perish in hunger and destruction. But against it a certain 'chief' who happened to be fighting till the other day against the revolutionaries and under the banner of dictatorship, attained the highest post of Prime Ministership. The result was the appearance of despotism in the shape of constitutionalism.

Opportunism has been no mean a destructive weapon even during the early days of Islam. During the days of Caliph Osman, the opportunists occupied the places of those who were faithful to Islam and its objectives. The banished persons became the ministers and advisers, but the noblemen like Abuzar and Ammar were sent to live in exile or were reduced to ignomity.

The Qur'an has made clear distinction between the sacrifice and struggle made before and after the victory of Mecca. In fact it is an attempt to draw a dividing line between the faithful and sacrificing fighter before and after a victory. The Qur'an says :

> Those who made sacrifices and put in struggle before a victory are not similar to others. They are

> the men of higher degree in comparison to those who made sacrifices after the victory. God has promised compassion to them all and God knows all that you do.[1]

The meaning is clear. Before the victory of Mecca, it was a story or struggle and privations. The faith of the fighters was pure, their sacrifices and endeavour dispassionate. They were far removed from self-interests and opportunism. But after the victory, the sacrifices made and the struggle put in were not entirely motiveless.

About the earlier champions, the Kor'an records :

> Twenty of you are equal to two hundred of the unbelievers. But when such of the elements as had not yet been infused fully with the Islamic spirit and had not yet made firm resolve of faithfulness to the objectives of Islamic movement, crept into it, then Islam is represented as ao opportunity wherein a hundred persons could be equal to two hundred persons of the enemy.

A movement is usually initiated by a reformist and not an opportunist. In the same way only a reform-loving faithful person can pursue the aims of the movement and not an opportunist who has nothing but the vested interest.

In short a crusade against sabotage and opportunism which are manifest in deceptive demonstrations, is the fundamental condition of continuing a movement on the right track.

(1) Sura Hadeed, 10.

5. Ambiguous future plans :

Let us suppose that we want to pull down a dilapidated and shabby house in which we are living with much inconvenience so as to be replaced by a new cosy house devoid of the defects of the former house and providing us with all the needed facilities. In such a situation two feelings are uppermost in our mind. The first is a negative feeling about the present house of which we want to get rid of as early as possible. The second is our positive feeling about the contemplated new house in which we could settle down to an ideal life as early as possible. From our negative feeling, we are clear about what we have to do. There is obviously no need to explain why the existing structure be demolished because our suffering is almost palpable. But as a positive feeling, if a definite programme is placed before us announcing the structure which would emerge in future embodying particular advantages, we should have no hesitation in accepting it if we find no drawback in it on the whole. But if such a plan is not presented and it is just declared that after demolishing the present structure, a magnificant structure will be erected in its place, it is bound to increase our curiosity but along with that some anxiety will also be lurking somewhere.

This may be elucidated by an example. Suppose two groups of engineers offer two plans of a construction. One of the two groups has a carefully drawn plan indicating the main details accurately, the internal structure etc. But against it if the other group, though enjoying our confidence of its skill, does not give us the requisite detail of its lay-out and inner set up except the verbal assurance that the contemplated building

will be a magnificant one, it is clear that such an ambiguity would force us to be inclined more towards the former plan.

Thus the church is that group of the social engineers, which enjoys the confidence of the society but for some special reasons it has failed in forwarding the future plan or at least a plan that has received the final approval. But against it, there is a definite and complete plan; a plan which gives us a clear picture of what type of the society is to emerge from the point of view of government, law, freedom, capital, ownership, judiciary, ethical code. It is proved by experience that absence of a clear future plan results in immense human waste.

In categoric terms, a movement has to put forth a definite and unambiguous plan for the future which must have received the consent of its leaders so that meaningless wastage is avoided. We thank God that we are fortunate in having been bestowed upon very rich cultural heritage. We do not stand in need of any other source to draw upon. All that we need to do is the exploitation, refinement and conversion of this cultural raw material into useful and purposeful commodity. This asks for alertness, **hard work** and utililisation of time.

It is highly gratifying that the alertness is discernable in our intellectual circles with the hope of its intensification in near future.

6. The sixth peril that can pose serious threat to a divine movement, pertains to its content. It is in the diversion of its ideology and in a change of intentions. A divine movement ought to be launched for the sake of God, be continued for the sake of God and no intention other than that of doing it for the sake of God should govern it till it is crowned with success. If it falls short of this purpose, the perils and calamities in its way would be disasterous for it. One who initiates a divine movement, ought not to think of anything else but God. He must have faith in God. The Kor'an makes Shoeb say :

> A group of Muslim fighters, having fought a battle, returned to Madina and the Prophet told : Hail the people who have completed the minor 'holy war' but their major 'holy war' still remains to be fought. They uttered in unison. "Oh Prophet of God ! Tell us what is the 'major holy war'. "A war against carnel desires" came the reply.

To keep the conscience and intentions clear in the stage of denial and rejection, meaning a wholesale antagonism towards the external enemy is somewhat easy. But when the movement culminates in success and the time arrives for reconstruction and positive action and incidentally when opportunities are open, it is very difficult to maintain integrity.

The 'Sura Maaida', the last or one of the concluding 'Suras' of the Kor'an, was revealed upon the prophet in the last two or three months of his life. This was the time when the plural worshippers had been made to succumb and they ceased to pose any threat to Islam thereafter. It was at this movement that the role of the Imamate (the holy guidance) was made clear in Ghadir Khom. The Imamate and caliphate of Ali was announced with divine decree. The 'Sura' in question indicates a danger from God to the Muslims. It tells

them that thitherto they were afraid of the enemy. But that threat had been alleviated. Now the threat was posed from God's side "Henceforth you will not be scared of the infidels and the enemy but be afraid of me for I seek an opportunity to strike."[1]

What does this mean ? It is simple- the Islamic society is henceforth threatened from within of deviating from the divine path of faithfulness and of forgetting God. It is the inalienable divine law that any community which deviates from within and from moral course, God changes its destiny. The Kor'an says :

> God does not change the destiny of people unless they change themselves, their thinking and their behaviour."[1]

Conditions for the Success of a Reformer

Let me conclude this essay with the words of Ali, about the requisite qualification of a reformer. These pithy utterances have been recorded in Nehaj-ul Balaageh and we would like to comment on them.

Ali says :

> Innama Yuqeem-u Amrullah-e Subhaana man Layusaane'u wa laa uzaare'e wa laa yattab'u ulmatame'a.[2]

These sentences speak of "upholding of God's command. This refers to something which, for last century, has been

(1) Raed/16.
(2) Nehej-ul Balaaeh, 157.

termed by the Islamic reformers as 'Renaissance of Islamic Thought". An analysis would lead to the interpretation that there may be a period when the command of God falls flat on the ears of a community and what is needed is to make it effective. The question arises as to who is capable of undertaking this prophet-like mission ? Can anybody in any given set of spiritual and moral conditions and with any type of subjective personality attain the success of fulfilling this mission ?

The word 'innama' in Ali's utterance stipulates three characteristics to which a reformer should not succumb in any way. These are appeasement (*musaana'u*), infirmity (*muzaare'e*) and the greed of *Servitude*.

Perhaps the word 'musaan'eet' (appeasement) does not convey the full meaning for its dimension is greater that. A proposal was made to Ali that he should hesitate in the matter of Moawiyah's dismissal. Such an act would have been considered 'appeasement' on the part of Ali and his comrades. But Ali did not permit that Moawiyah should continue even for an hour because this he termed as appeasement or conciliation.

Friends and seniors would come to him and shower all the praises upon him appending several titles to his name. They would avoid pointing out any short coming in Ali's work but Ali would dissuade them from behaving in that manner. He characterised their attitude as conciliation' and said that he should not be addressed in conciliatory terms; not in submissive, flattering, soft and appeasing words with verbose titles and appendages as is being done with the tyrants and oppressors. Obviously he meant that whenever they met

him, they should, out of all sincerety and without any formality or resorting to inflicting undue paises, point out to him his shortcomings and make a healthy criticism of his policies.

In the tasks that have to be fulfilled in the name of God, do not allow favouritism. To allow a friend, a relative or a follower to interfere in the divine duty is to succumb to favouritism.

The Kor'an has a term 'idhaan' used in the form of 'madahana' in modern writings.

It means pampering : To explain it one may say that instead of performing a task in right earnestness, it is done superficially. The Kor'an says that the non-believers love you to be flattery-loving person. For instance the concept of unity and brotherhood or that of the forbidding of interest remains as it is in its outer shape but not in truth. This is appeasement. In this context we may recount a story about Ali.

On his return from a military campaign in Yemen, Ali bought with him the Yemeni clothing which formed a part of public treasury. He did not permit his soldier nor himself to take anything from the body. Coming near to the Mecca, he marched a few stages ahead to present himself before the prophet who was in Mecca at that time and then rejoined his troops. He found that in his absence the soldiers had attired themselves in the captured clothing Without any favour, he made them take off and restore those clothes. The soldiers were slightly inconvenienced over it. When they came to the presence of the prophet, he asked them if they were satisfied with their commander. They were, except the story related

with the Yemeni clothing. The prophet uttered the historic sentence about Ali : "In the task of God, he is the toughest " This means that in the task which is to be fulfilled in the name of God, he does not succumb to favouritism. Conciliation and expediency are nothing but a weakness and toughness is in fact bravery and strength.

As for the matter of similarity, it may be said that one who sets before himself the task of reforming the society and effecting a change in it, should be distinct from the common man. He should not have in himself the weak points of a common man.

A physically sick person may be able to cure another sick person but this is not possible in spiritual and social sickness. Self-reconstruction preceds social reconstruction. In this context Ali says :

> I swear by God that I never ordered you to do a certain duty, unless I rendered more service myself. I never forbade you to do something before forbidding myself to do that. He further says : One who desires to be the preceptor of the people, must first educate himself and then educate the people. A teacher and trainer of one's ownself is more esteemed than a teacher and preceptor of others.

Lastly the greed of servitude. Ali says : "Greed is eternal slavery". In all kinds of slavery, it is possible to be set at liberty by the master but not in thecase of avery to greed. In this, toe power to be liberated lies in the hands of the slave himself and not his master. One who desires to uphold the God's command right to liberate himself from this imprison-

ment. Freedom and liberty of conscience are the conditions for the success of religious reformer. A subjugated, meek person cannot achieve success as a divine reformer. Just as a sick and worn-out person cannot cure his society, similarly a person who has become a victim of human greed and desires cannot redeem his society of its social and spiritual bondage.

Oh God ! You are the lord of our hearts and our thoughts. Our hearts are in your hands. Keep us on the right path and save us from the evils of immoderate self.

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سخن کتابخانه
با فارسی زبانان داخل و خارج کشور

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

سپاس به درگاه احدیت داریم که توفیقمان داد وشاهد بهترین پیروزی امّت مسلمان ایران گشتیم و درود پیاپی بر صاحب مکتب راستینمان حضرت محمد(ص) که ما را ازنکبت وسیاهی‌نظام طاغوتی پهلوی وهمهٔ نظامهای شرك و بت پرستی رهایمان ساخت وبا اخلاص وافر به پیشگاه امام زمان ، تنهایار مستضعفان در این زمان و پرچمدار عدالت اسلامی در دوران‌آخرینِ بشر، و باگرامیداشت بزرگ نائب آن امام راستین، حضرت امام خمینی که‌با قیام بزرگش نموداری از حرکت انقلابی حضرت مهدی را با یادها آشناساخت ، مختصری از فعالیت خارج از کشور کتابخانه بزرگ اسلامی را برای برادران و خواهران گرامی عرضه می‌داریم :

کتابخانهٔ بزرگ اسلامی‌درسال۱۳۵۰ به‌همت والای‌بزرگمردی مجاهد و روشندلی آگاه حضرت حجة الاسلام والمسلمین‌آقای حاج شیخ عباسعلی اسلامی‌تأسیس شد . و این مؤسسه را بعنوان ، مکمّل جامعهٔ تعلیمات اسلامی در زمینهٔ نشر فرهنگ اصیل وصحیح اسلامی بپاداشت ، ولی‌در دورانی چنین مؤسسه‌ای بپا شدکه ساواك باجدیتی هرچه تمامترجلوهرنوع حرکت صحیح واصیل‌اسلامی رامی گرفت. لذا با طرح و برنامه‌ای مخفی، دست به‌فعالیتهائی گسترده‌ای زد ، از جمله‌کارهای کتابخانه تشکیل مراکز فعالیت در خارج از کشور بود: در بیروت با تشکیل « دار الغدیر » و « المکتبة الاسلامیة الکبری » شعبهٔ کتابخانه، فعالیتهائی در ترجمه و نشرآثار اسلامی‌اصیل داشت.

در ترکیه‌باهمیاری عده‌ای از برادران «انتشارات زمان» را تشکیل داد که آثار زیادی از کتب اصیل‌اسلامی- شیعه‌ی را به‌ترکی نشر داد و در هندوستان با همیاری سید جلیل حضرت حجة الاسلام و المسلمین آقای سید محمد مختاری«مکتب قرآن» را تأسیس‌نمود که به دوزبان اردو و انگلیسی نشریات زیادی داشته است . این مؤسسه سعی‌داشته کتابهائی را ترجمه کند که از متانت واصالت اسلامی کاملاً برخوردار باشد، لذا از ابتدای شروع کار، کتب استاد مطهری جلب توجه‌نمود که میشود این سری را به همهٔ زبانها عرضه‌کرد، لذا با کسب اجازه از ایشان‌اقدام به ترجمه نمودیم که داستان راستان وجزوهٔ شهید ایشان به زبان‌ترکی‌ترجمه شد. وتعدادی هم به زبان عربی‌وتعدادی هم‌مختصراً به زبان انگلیسی و اردو .

پس‌ازشهادت استاد ، مؤسسهٔ کتابخانه تصمیم گرفت‌باکوشش بیشتری‌کلیهٔ آثاراستاد را تاآنجاکه می‌تواند به‌زبانهای مختلف‌ترجمه کند . کتاب حاضر ترجمهٔ کتاب ارزندهٔ اخیر استاد است که بنام : « نهضت‌های اسلامی صد سالهٔ اخیر» چاپ ونشرشده‌است‌امید داریم روزی بیاید که شاهد ترجمهٔ کلیه آثار استاد به این زبان و زبانهای دیگر جهان باشیم .

از کلیه خواهران و برادران ایمانی درخواست داریم که کلیهٔ نظرات‌خود را برای ما به آدرس‌کتابخانه ارسال دارند .

به امید گسترش هرچه بیشتر تفکراسلامی
در سطحی جهانی

مدیر عامل کتابخانه بزرگ اسلامی
علی اسلامی

سیزده آبان ، روز هجرت امام به ترکیه ، روز دانش آموز
و روز اشغال بزرگترین لانهٔ جاسوسی سفارت آمریکا